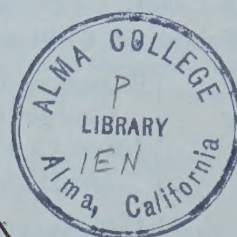
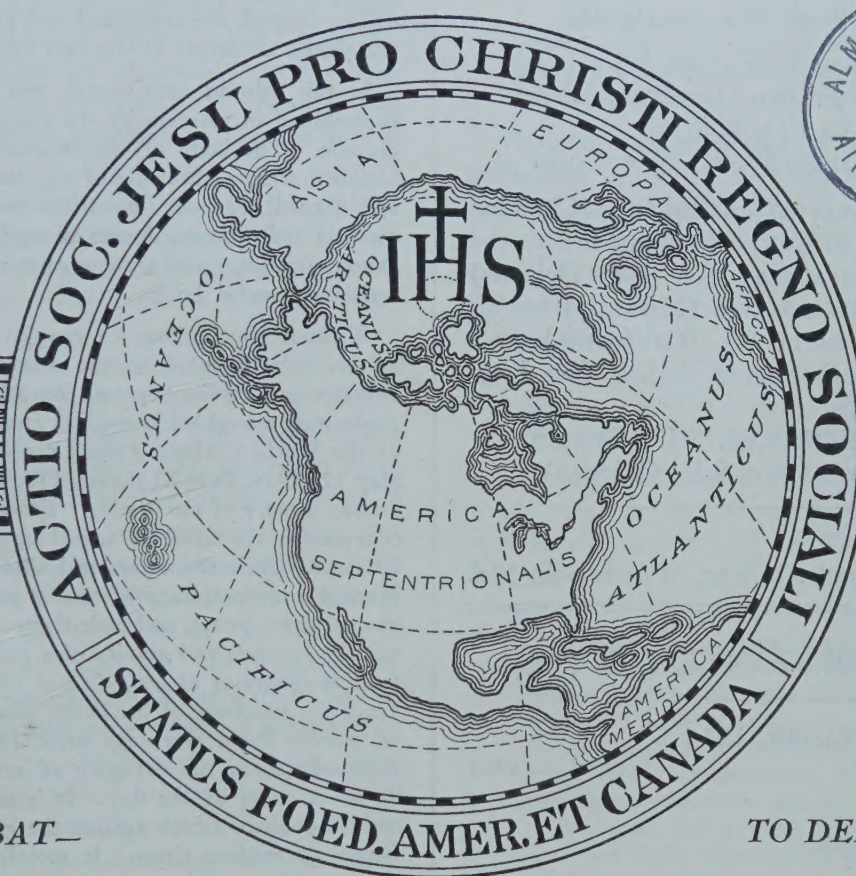


INFORMATIONES ET NOTITIAE

INFORMATION ON COMMUNISM AND INTERNATIONAL ATHEISM



TO COMBAT—

Atheism
Communism
Unholy Greed

TO DEFEND—

Divine Truth
The Christian State
The Charity of Christ

VOL. II - III

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NOVEMBER, 1936

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on

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EDITORIAL

"Look unto the rock whence ye are hewn"—Isaiah 51, 1.

With this first issue of a monthly BULLETIN OF INFORMATION the final link is welded in the chain of unified social action binding together the Jesuit provinces of the United States and Canada. While primarily intended for our Inter-Province Committee, the publication will, it is hoped, prove equally helpful to the many friends and collaborators whose assistance is so indispensable to the Directors in the nine provinces of North America which have been associated for the past two years in common cause against the common enemy of Christianity and human freedom. It will be a joint effort and the editors bespeak the continued and vigilant cooperation of the designated Directors in the two countries.

In this column each month will appear a signed editorial contributed in rotation by the regional Directors of the new crusade. The body of the BULLETIN will present running commentaries, a chronicle of significant events both at home and abroad, Catholic exposition of remedies against Communism and atheism, digests or reprints of important articles, communications, and a documentation indicating source material and useful books.

Without succumbing to exaggeration, the policy of the editors will be based on the measured and mandatory pronouncements of the Supreme Pontiff of the Catholic Church. Addressing assembled journalists from all quarters of the globe at the World Catholic Press Exposition held at the Vatican, May 12, 1936, Pius XI declared Communism to be "*the most serious menace of our times.*" From the strategic position he occupies in the most informed chancery in the world, the Father of Christendom warned all Catholics against the connivance and conspiracy of silence observable in quarters that should know better, and bade them never to falter in pointing out the nearness and gravity of a peril "*that many, too many, seem to ignore or at least do not recognize.*" Such language from the successor of St. Peter, coupled with the long series of similar Papal warnings since 1924, removes the present campaign from the category of academic recommendations. It is the order of the day. It is an authoritative call for a unified counter-attack against the greatest and most inclusive heresy of modern times. It mobilizes Catholics throughout the world in a solidarity without compromise against the new paganism of Moscow, against the brutal tyranny, the obscene atheism and the crass materialism that would reduce human personality to the degradation of a despiritualized machine.

The Society of Jesus in North America will best engage the Third International by recognizing the necessity for clear thinking, by scrupulously maintaining a non-partisan attitude in domestic politics and by courageous and constructive action respecting the current social and economic problems which communism has so successfully dramatized for its own sinister purposes.

Oct. 25, 1936.

EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.



Part I

Home Survey



A Prelude to Understanding

E. A. WALSH, S.J.

IT WILL doubtless be helpful to initiate our service of information with a brief survey of the origin, program and development of the Communist Party in the United States. Both atheism and the extreme philosophy of social revolt called Communism, derive directly from that organization which was little known in America before the World War. Hence, to put first things first, the Editors present herewith a condensed survey of the parent party as it developed and functions in the United States. Its more remote genealogy is traced in the first printed number of "*Informationes et Notitiae*" (June, 1935).

In common with the Russian Communist Party of today, the Communist Party of the United States began as a result of dissensions in the ranks of the Socialist Party, whose existence and platform were familiar to Americans since the formation of a Socialist Party in New York in January, 1868. But sharp diversities of opinion manifested themselves on the outbreak of the World War in 1914. A Left Wing developed over the question of the tactics to be followed to achieve Socialism. Encouraged by events in Russia, the extremists in the United States advocated more direct and more radical methods in contradistinction to the old party managers who protested that America was not yet ripe for social revolt through force and violence. Morris Hillquit and Victor Berger may be mentioned as representatives of the moderate wing; Alexander Trachtenberg, Ruthenberg and James O'Neal of the radical group.

It was at the Chicago Convention of 1919 that the schism became formal and permanent. The break caused the resignation of several well-known Socialists, such as John Spargo, William English Wallings and Allen Benson, who had been the Socialist candidate for President in 1916. Revolting against the evident preponderance of foreign ideas and tactics, the latter wrote in his letter of resignation:

"The present foreign-born leaders of the American Socialist Party, if they had lived during the Civil War,

would doubtless have censured Marx for congratulating Lincoln. For these reasons I now take leave of the Socialist Party a year after I ceased to agree with it. . . . It has not righted itself. I therefore resign as a protest against the foreign-born leadership that blindly believes a non-American policy can be made to appeal to many Americans."

The alien influence became more evident and more audacious in the ensuing years. The Chicago manifesto of September, 1919, repeated the language and advocated the Russian method. In the call sent out from Moscow to radical revolutionary groups throughout the world in 1919, the following was included:

"The elements of the Left of the Socialist Party of America (especially that group which is represented by Debs and the Socialist Propaganda League").

The intense interest of the Russian Bolsheviks in the American movement is evidenced by the two well-known Letters of Lenin to "American Workmen":

"Moscow, August 20, 1918.

"COMRADES—A Russian Bolshevik who participated in the Revolution of 1905 and for many years afterwards lived in your country has offered to transmit this letter to you. I have grasped this opportunity joyfully, for the revolutionary proletariat of America—in so far as it is the enemy of American imperialism—is destined to perform an important task at this time. . . .

"We know that it may take a long time before help can come from you, Comrades, American workingmen, for the development of the revolution in the different countries proceeds along various paths, with varying rapidity. (How could it be otherwise!) We know full well that the outbreak of the European proletarian revolution may take many weeks to come, quickly as it is ripening these days. We are counting on the inevitability of the international revolution. . . .

"We are in a beleaguered fortress, so long as no other international Socialist revolution comes to our assistance with its armies. But these armies exist; they are stronger than ours, they grow, they strive, they become more invincible the longer imperialism, with its brutalities, continues. Workingmen the world over are breaking with their betrayers, with their Gompers and their Scheidemanns. Inevitably labor is approaching Communist Bolshevik tactics, is preparing for the prole-

tarian revolution that alone is capable of preserving culture and humanity from destruction.

"We are invincible, for invincible is the Proletarian Revolution."

A second letter to the workers of Europe and America followed soon after:

"January 21, 1919.

"COMRADES—At the end of my letter the 20th of August, 1918, addressed to the American workers, I wrote that we shall find ourselves in a beleaguered fortress as long as the rest of the armies of the international Socialist revolution do not come to our aid. I added that the workers will have to break with Gompers and Renner. Slowly but surely the workers are approaching Communistic or Bolshevistic tactics.

"Less than five months have passed since I wrote these words. It can be said that during this time the world revolution of the proletariat has matured with tremendous rapidity, and the workers in various countries have gone over to Communism and Bolshevism. . . ."

The remainder of the letter is devoted to an appeal for proletarian solidarity.

The first National Conference of the Left Wing was held in New York on June 25, 1919. It was voted to accept the invitation of the Communist International of Moscow and to favor alliance only with Communist groups such as the Bolsheviks of Russia and the Spartacans of Germany. From that time onwards the designation, "Communist," began to be used, charters were issued and periodicals began to appear bearing the same title. In March, 1919, the Third International convened at Moscow and numbered among its delegates a representative of the Left Wing in America, Boris Reinstein. In that first and in subsequent congresses of the Third International, the leadership, and jurisdiction of the Central Executive Committee of the Comintern has been freely admitted by the American Party, as appears in its articles of admission, in its constitution and in the testimony of American Communists before Congressional Investigating Committees.

In reporting to Congress on the investigations made by a committee of the House of Representatives, Congressman McCormack, of Massachusetts, said:

"Another illustration. The Communist Party maintains a school in New York City where there are 3,000 students there tonight learning how to incite others to actions and efforts which will tend towards the ultimate objective that they have in mind, the overthrow of our Government by force and violence.

"Mr. HANCOCK. Is it true there is such a school in Washington, too?

"Mr. MCCORMACK. We had no evidence on that. We had the head of the school before us who testified under oath. His evidence was amazing. All Communists who testified admitted that their ultimate objective was the overthrow of Government by violence and force. Browder and Ford admitted it. Those men will tell the truth when testifying. They will not lie. Some will lie—but men of that type, if they appear before a committee, will testify to the truth. If you ask them a question they do not want to answer they will frankly tell you, 'I do not

want to answer that question.' They come in and tell just what they stand for. They stand for and advocate the overthrow of Government by force and violence as the means to obtain their objectives.

"As a result of the evidence which we obtained they admitted Browder, in testifying before the committee, presented evidence which shows that they stand for: First, the overthrow by force and violence of the republican form of government guaranteed by Article IV, section 4, of the Federal Constitution; second, the substitution of a Soviet form of government based on class domination, to be achieved by abolition of elected representatives both to the legislative and executive branches, as provided by Article I, by the several sections of Article II of the same Constitution, and by the fourteenth amendment; third, the confiscation of private property by governmental decree without the due process of law and compensation, guaranteed by the fifth amendment; fourth, restriction of the rights of religious freedom of speech and of the press, as guaranteed by the third amendment.

"They admit it. Browder admits it. Mr. Kramer had two of the most important members of the Communist Party appear before him under oath out at Los Angeles. They both admitted that their movement was dedicated to the ultimate overthrow of Government by violence and force; that the time has not yet arrived, as they say, for the so-called 'revolution.' The time has not arrived for the so-called 'revolution'; they testify now, but they are dedicated to and endeavoring by any means to obtain the ultimate overthrow of our Government. They present the ridiculous theory that they are not employing any act of violence, but whenever a police officer or whenever anybody protects himself against their acts all they are doing is employing force to resist arrest, the force which is applied against them by any person whose rights they have no regard for.

"As late as May 14, 1935, there appeared in the *New Masses* an article entitled 'What Is Communism? Questions About the Movement, by Earl Browder.' The *New Masses* is either a Communist publication, or sympathetic to this un-American movement.

"Mr. Browder, who is the leader of the Communist Party in the United States, said:

"Let us briefly sketch the history of modern socialism, that is, scientific socialism, as distinguished from the Utopian type. Its origin dates from 1847, when Karl Marx and Frederick Engels wrote the famous document, The Communist Manifesto. This Manifesto laid down the basic principles of scientific socialism in such a clear and developed form that it holds good down to today, and in all fundamental respects reads like a contemporary document. The Manifesto, together with the subsequent writings of Marx and Engels, soon dominated the thought and action of the rising working-class movement in Europe, and to a degree, in America. Its principles later became the basis for the First International and still later, for a period, of the Second International, both of which were international associations of various Socialist parties and to some degree of the trade-union movement.

"From 1847 on, we thus see the name Communist and Socialist used more or less interchangeably, as the name for the dominant trend in one organized movement, a trend which was embodied and given its best expression in the writings of Marx and Engels. Originally, Marx and Engels and their associates definitely chose the name 'Communist,' in order more sharply to distinguish themselves from the various schools of Utopian or petty-bourgeois socialism. Later on, and especially under the influence of the growth of the mass Socialist Party in Germany, the name Socialist, or Social-Democratic, came to the fore, and the label of communism was generally relegated to the theoretical works and textbooks.

"Then down to the outbreak of the World War, where the Socialists supported the war in the various nations,

and then the Communists came to the forefront from that time on.

"By the way, the Socialist Party within the United States is acting clearly within its constitutional rights. They are acting within the Constitution, and anything I say has no application to any movement operating within the law. A man or a woman has got the right to advocate a monarchy, a Fascist state, a communistic state, any kind of a state, so long as they advocate it through the use of the ballot box. I may disagree with them, and I may oppose and fight them in their efforts, but I will protect their constitutional rights. No movement has a constitutional right to advocate the accomplishment of its objective by the use of force and violence."

(Hearing before Subcommittee No. 2, Committee on the Judiciary, on H. R. 4313, 6427. May 22, 1935.)

Cf. the records of the McCormack Committee of the House of Representatives, 1934, and the Fish Committee, 1930. Both these voluminous reports, in many volumes contain a veritable mine of information. Fr. Edmund Walsh testified in both hearings and submitted lengthy reports on both occasions, which are printed in the aforesaid Government documents. Much valuable and documented information in the same field will be found in the speech of Congressman Tinkham in the House of Representatives, reproduced in full in "*Informationes et Notitiae*," June, 1934.

Aliens in Subversive Activities

Synopsis of article on the organization of the Communist Party in the United States, by Raymond G. Carroll in the Saturday Evening Post, Feb. 22, 1936. Condensed by Mr. F. Fadner, S.J., Woodstock.

THERE ARE RESIDENT in the United States between six and seven million aliens. This makes of this country the apostolate and target par excellence for that type of Communistic proselytizing which is designed to be effective in foreign sections. It is significant that the bulk of the nations that have represented their minorities in the Comintern have at the same time dumped "their surplus labor and unwanted populations in the United States."

The timid alien of pink tendencies, after a short residence in this country, takes on a deeper hue when he sees the visiting red envoys received graciously by the pompous "rocking-chair reds" of the intellectual world of his new home. Soon he is atop a soap-box vociferously urging his alien brethren in this country on to the world revolution.

The chinks in our Federal Government structure, —which boasts no Secret Service designed to follow up Communistic activities and maintain red records, a lack all the more glaring in view of the constant qui vive of other countries in these matters, are the very gaps through which seeps the insidious foreign poison.

Concerning the existence of statutes bearing on radical activities the Department of Justice is able to quote no more than the so-called sedition statute (Fed. Crim. Code, Sec 6: U. S. C., Title 18, Sec. 6) and the Director of the Bureau of Investigation informs us:

"Of course, as you know, there is at the present time no Federal legislation in effect under which investigations of so-called radical activities are authorized. . . . As you are no doubt aware, the Department of Justice is not investigating Communist activities as such, and has no appropriation available for such investigations."

Evidently the \$800,000 increase in the 1936-37

budget for the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the increase in personnel did not have as their end "inquiry into subversive activities."

Mr. Raymond G. Carroll's investigations show that one Comrade Marengo, representative of the Mexican Communist Party to the Comintern, has been a power among our Mexican border aliens. Comrades Lenski, Beleviski, Tuominen, Prukhnayak, leaders and representatives of the Communist Party of Poland are each as well known to our Poles in Buffalo, Chicago, Detroit and New York as Marshal Pilsudski himself. Bohemians here talk more about Comrade Syrovi, Slansky, Gottwald and Kohler, Czechoslovakian representatives to the Comintern, than they do of the Father of their country, Dr. Thomas G. Masaryk. Comrade Bela Kun and Comrade Schmidt are names on the lips of many Hungarians and Jugoslavs in the United States. Comrade Furini, Italian delegate to the Comintern, and Comrades Pieck, Florin, Funk, Franz and Ackermann (who under the Führer's nose direct 5,000 Communists in Berlin with a regular illegal press), dispute the place held by Mussolini and Hitler in the hearts of many Italo- and German-Americans. Austrians in Cleveland read red circulars from Comrades Wieder and Dobler in their pro-Koeplenig (Austrian Workers Party) campaigning in Vienna. A Comrade Dsordsos figures in our Greek red sheets. There are many other foreign names of influence.

The fact that European Communists are lionized here has so impressed our aliens as to encourage them to much open activity. They see on the lecture rostrum with American intellectuals personages like: Julius Deutsch, Austrian Revolutionary; John Strachey, British radical; Anna Schultz, Secretary of the German Communist, Torgler; and Felix Martin, French Negro agitator. Such characters as

Tom Mann, of Britain, Emma Goldman, and the notorious Henri Barbusse were allowed entry by the Department of Labor.

The words of Lieutenant Make Mills, Russian-born head of the Radical detail of the Chicago Police Department, as he considers his remarkable 39-year-old index files, are telling:

"I have 75,000 current names on my lists, and 25,000 are active Communists, of whom 40 per cent are foreigners of many races. If they were deported, it would help some. But Americans are more lukewarm in their patriotism than the people of any other nation. They let themselves be led along by the theorists, instead of being alert to the danger of the sudden changes these theorists advocate."

Out of 2,027 Communists arrested during 1931-34 by Lieutenant Mills, 747 were foreign born. There are a dozen or more Communist daily newspapers in the United States and plenty of paid lawyers to ease the tight spots.

Mr. Carroll speaks of the Comintern. "There are in Russia three distinct, yet interrelated organizations—first, the Russian Communist Party; second, the Soviet Government; and third, the Comintern, created in 1919 as the governing body of all Communist activities throughout the world. Stalin, Dictator of Red Russia, is general secretary of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party, member of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Government and member of the Praesidium and of the Executive Committee of the Comintern, in which also sits William Z. Foster, head of the Communist Party of the U. S. A. The twenty-one conditions for admittance into the Comintern form an astonishing document which is now being circulated in the United States. One reads: "instructions for preparation of civil war; creation of parallel illegal revolutionary groups; penetration of the nations armed forces; propaganda work in the rural districts; revolutionary overthrow of capitalism; refusal to transport munitions of war intended for enemies of the Soviet Government of Moscow, and how to conduct illegal propaganda among the troops." Since in its own words it has declared "a decisive war against the entire Bourgeoisie world," the Communist International is plainly an alien enemy of the State, directed in all its activities from Moscow in spite of pre-recognition pledges. It may well be asked if the acquisition of Russian trade through recognition balances the havoc wrought by subversive activities resultant.

The *modus agendi* of the Comintern in its "boring-from-within" technique in the organization and reorganization of Trade Unions is voiced in the classical creed of Lenin himself, reiterated in a resolution adopted February 25, 1928:

"We must be able . . . to be ready for any and every sacrifice, and even if necessary, to practice trickery, to employ cunning and to resort to illegal methods, to some-

times even overlook and conceal the truth—all for the sake of penetrating into the Trade Unions, to stay there and by every and all means to carry on the work of Communism."

The following cablegram from Moscow to Pacific Coast Communist officials intercepted at New York is typical of foreign machinations toward a general bouleversement of the social order in this country:

"Strike, but do not split. Avoid situations enabling Seattle and Tacoma to sign separate agreements. Prevent move to break Maritime Federation by taking firm stand at Portland conference. Demand rank and file representation at Washington conference. Communist International (Comintern) support assured."

The radical Maritime Federation dominated by Communist officials and composed largely of long-shoremen and seamen gives evidence of a virulent inoculation of Leninism on our Pacific Coast—a constant stand which, characterized by an eighty-three day strike in 1935 bids fair to create a red ring around the water-front of the United States and to realize the dream of the radical water-front labor leader; i.e., to force all employers to recognize inland labor unions organized by the Communists.

And a large bloc of longshoremen and sailors are aliens led by Henry Bridges (Australian—who in 1935 sought the vice-presidency of the California Federation of Labor), Henry Schrimpf (Australian), Fred Frater (British), and Earl King (Canadian).

But Labor has an answer to Communism. President William Green, of the American Federation of Labor, with which the California State Federation is affiliated, says:

"There can be no compromise between the American Federation of Labor and Communism or Communist philosophy, which is of alien origin. It is the avowed purpose of the Communists, as made in official declarations, to destroy the American Federation of Labor. We would be unworthy of membership in the American Federation of Labor if we failed to oppose and fight Communism when it has officially ordered our destruction."

California, however, is apparently a hard nut to crack for the radical organizer. In spite of the efforts of one, Sam Darcy (alias Seul Dardeck—Ukraine born—and arrested in San Francisco for equivocation in regard to his origin) and Schneidermann, his successor, the low-dues Utopian Society of America (3,000,000 members) attracts most of the radicals of the southern end of California. This organization, according to its general counsel, the Yale graduate Negro-lawyer, Hugh E. Macbeth, has as its main objective, "mass education in the political, economic and social sciences." Communists are admitted, but must "do their violence elsewhere." The organization, with its basic unit the weekly house meeting or local gathering of neighbors, is contrasted with the sinister line-up of the foreign-born, foreign-controlled Communist Party of the

U. S. A., with its basic organization, the shop unit nucleus, widening in scope to town unit, territorial section, section convention, district (sometimes three States included in each one), with its district convention, permanent committee and district organizer appointed by the central committee; finally the national convention responsible to the executive committee of the Comintern, located in Moscow.

Such, then, is the thorough-going organization of the Communist Party in the United States. It is a secret society, composed of individuals who do not wear badges or even carry their membership books with them,—who are urged to conceal their assignments, to speak English correctly, to keep mum when they are arrested—until the saving lawyer arrives. Such is the organization that occupies some twenty-one buildings in greater New York as headquarters and as publishing offices for its organs, *The Daily Worker* and the Yiddish *Freiheit*. This is the organization that possesses an imposing battery of files in an investigation department that is most effective in checking up the *bona fides* of applicants to the ranks of the Party. This is the Party that boasts liaisons with numerous other corporate entities in the country, such as L'Unitá Publishing Company, Workers' Library Publishers, Inc., International Labor Defense (E. 11th St., N.Y., organized to aid radicals when arrested for demonstrating); the New Masses, Inc., which, through its organ, *New Masses*, feeds American Intellectuals,—and many others, including a hundred or more national "Culture movements" (dance clubs, dramatic clubs, etc.) 51,000 registered dues-paying members of the Communist Party and about 2,000,000 sympathizers. Such is the fibre of the red

net that has been cast among us. And its strands stretch over the entire country from the twenty-nine districts into which Moscow has divided the United States:—

Location	District
Boston and area	1
New York City and area	2
Philadelphia and area	3
Buffalo and area	4
Pittsburgh and area	5
Cleveland and area	6
Detroit and area	7
Chicago and area	8
Minneapolis and area	9
Omaha and area	10
Bismarck, N. Dak., and area.....	11
Seattle and area	12
San Francisco and area	13
Newark, N. J., and area	14
New Haven and area	15
Raleigh, N. C., and area.....	16
Birmingham, Ala., and area.....	17
Milwaukee and area.....	18
Denver and area	19
Fort Worth, Tex., and area.....	20
St. Louis and area	21
Wheeling, W. Va., and area.....	22
Louisville and area	23
New Orleans and area.....	24
Jacksonville, Fla., and area.....	25
Aberdeen, S. Dak. and area.....	26
Upper Michigan, logging camps and mines..	27
Indianapolis and area.....	28
San Diego, Calif., and area.....	29

Extent of Communism in the United States

BY JOSEPH F. THORNING, S.J.

A LITTLE OVER two years ago, it was reported that the total membership of the Communist Party in the United States did not exceed 14,000. Just one year ago, the most reliable statistics indicated that this figure had grown to 24,000. Today, there are 31,000 properly qualified and duly enrolled members in the American section of the Third International.* Taking the year 1930 as a point of reference, we see that membership has trebled in less than five years.

Progress Among the Native-born and the Negroes

Further analysis of this growth reveals that Communism is attracting a larger and larger number of

native-born Americans. Whereas in 1930 less than ten per cent of the party members had been born in the United States, the percentage has leaped in 1935 to a new high of over forty per cent. Easily the most spectacular increase, both numerically and from the standpoint of potential development, in the enrollment of more than 2,500 Negroes. In 1930, there were not to be found a hundred colored persons full-fledged members of the party. And it should be observed that the appeal of the revolutionary program is just as powerful among the plantation Negroes, living on a peonage level in the Southern States, as among the dispossessed, under-privileged colored men and women in domestic service in our Northern industrial and commercial centers.

The dynamic character of the Communist creed carries with it hope, aspiration, and daring to every

* Reported as 51,000 in 1936. Consult the article on page 11, entitled "Communist Strength Varies."

Negro heart. To the simple-minded colored worker in field or factory, it seems that the only ones who are willing and eager "to do something about improving conditions and situations" are the Communist agitators and organizers. Religious faith alone has kept the more fortunate members of the race, that small proportion that has achieved reputation in the professions of medicine, dentistry, law, engineering, etc., from yielding to the siren voices that would lure them into the ranks of revolution under the banner of Communism.

Perhaps no one is more competent to testify on this phase of the Communist movement than Father John LaFarge, associate editor of *America*. In a recent conference, Father LaFarge told me that Communist organizers had been permitted to address meetings in most of the non-Catholic churches in Harlem. He added that pulpits in the South had likewise been utilized by the Communists in spreading their doctrines. In each instance, the Communist agitator would begin by praising the Protestant preacher. But in his conclusion he would make it clear that salvation came neither by religion nor by preachers, but by a hundred-per cent adherence to the Communist cause. It was emphasized that "action" could only be expected of the workers' party.

The Communists Undermine Labor

The bulk of the Communist party membership, of course, is to be found in the great mass-production factories, mines, and foundries. The party members exercise a predominant influence in the marine industry, especially on the West Coast. Their activities on the Eastern front are concentrated at New York, Baltimore, and Boston. The so-called "Rank-and-File Federation" is a decided threat to the old-time labor organizations such as the American Federation of Labor. The Communists have in a number of instances, such as in the fur industry, as well as in large areas of the textile, steel, furniture, and lumber trades, effected inroads sufficient to exercise a revolutionary influence on labor policies.

The Soviet agents in recent weeks have redoubled their efforts to organize the white-collar workers. Their success in some fields has been extraordinary. There are strong Communist units, for example, in fifteen large New York department stores, including Gimbel's Macy's and Kleins. Nor are the employees of the United States Government untouched. The Communist unit in the General Post Office of New York City is active enough to hold regular meetings, to collect funds, and mimeograph a monthly bulletin, which is circulated among all workers in the department.

Claims of Mr. Earl Browder

Perhaps no better explanation of the growth of the Communist Party in the United States has been

furnished than that submitted by the same Mr. Browder to the Congress of the Communist International in Moscow on July 28, 1935. He questioned himself and gave answer:

How was our party able to penetrate the masses and emerge from isolation?

A great role was played by leaders in the strike movement and in the work of the party among the unemployed. In some of the most important strikes, the San Francisco general strike for one, the Communist party had a decisive, determining influence. . . .

We have learned the revolutionary traditions of 1776 and 1863 and have appeared as the heirs of the revolutionary movements from which the United States was born.

Summing up the party's achievements in the industrial field, he stated:

We have more than 500 nuclei made up of 4,000 members in factories and plants where more than 1,000,000 workers are employed. As a result there are Communist ramifications in 154 distinct industries, supplying raw materials, finished and semi-finished goods which are indispensable both in time of peace and in time of war. "Rank-and-file" committees are daily penetrating the American Federation of Labor ranks within and have made appreciable gains in their campaigns to get possession of the leadership of hundreds of independent labor unions.

The new tendency for labor to organize on industrial, rather than craft lines, entirely desirable in itself, has greatly simplified the task of the Communist agitator.

The International Labor Defense

The Communist enclave in labor organizations is strongly buttressed by the International Labor Defense. This is a group which assumes the legal defense of a Communist worker when he is arrested by the police. The official publication of this group has over 40,000 circulation in this country. The International Labor Defense undertakes to form protest committees, often in widely separated regions, to put up bail, to supply attorneys and fight the cases out in court as long as possible. It should not be overlooked that the I. L. D., which claims over 200,000 members and affiliates with 800 local branches in the United States of America, is admittedly an outgrowth of the Red International Aid of Russia. It is estimated that this organization spends over \$280,000 annually in the United States to defend arrested and deportable Communists and to agitate for their release, and that this same organization has issued secret printed instructions to all Communists in the United States on the subject, "What to Do Under Arrest."

Red Councils of the Unemployed

In the first two parts of this survey on Communism, it was emphasized that the 31,000 active, bona fide members of the Communist Party in the United States could never be considered apart from the

large number of their sympathizers and affiliates. It was noted that the Communist chieftains themselves estimate that they have been able to exercise a direct influence over 1,500,000 people who do not give formal adherence to the party platform.

Now the most numerous affiliated group consists of 250,000 men and women organized in what are called the National Unemployed Councils. These councils have headquarters in thirty-eight cities situated in thirty-six States (there are two each in New York and Illinois.) The national office is located in Room 436, 80 East Eleventh Street, New York City. It stands to reason that the Communists have concentrated control of this organization in the hands of their active party leaders. Israel Amter, for example, is national chairman of the National Unemployed Councils, while Herbert Benjamin, another Communist intellectual, is national organizer of the group.

The Exploitation of Grievances

Indeed this merely illustrates one of the most effective phases of the Communist technique in exploiting a grievance or in striving to show that they alone are successful in attaining results for the unfortunates of society. The first step in the process is to ascertain the names and addresses of those who are enrolled as recipients of relief. Then the Communist agitators circulate among the families on the dole, promising them special attention, prompt medical treatment, additional favors, etc., provided they are willing to become associated with the Communist party or one of its affiliates. If the unemployed man or woman shows a willingness to be helped to special favors on this condition, he or she is brought quickly, sometimes by violence, to the head of the relief line, there to enjoy privileges exclusively reserved for those who are members of the National Unemployed Councils. At every moment in the process, the jobless men and women are assured that "the government owes you a living," and that "there is no reason for you to work for the pittance furnished by work relief," or that "you should be getting much better food and clothing."

The Exploitation of Federal Relief

Besides the National Councils of the Unemployed, there are several cognate groups such as the Relief Workers Protective Union (organized in FERA and other relief organizations of the Government), the Unemployed Teachers Association, the National Committee against Unemployment, Unemployed Writers Association, the American Federation of Labor Trade Union Committee for Unemployed and Relief, the Relief Workers League, the Homeless Youth of America, the Unattached Youth, the Anti-Mortgage Foreclosure Committee, and the Anti-

Eviction Committee. If, as Earl Browder claimed at Moscow, Communist organization among the workless is still in its infancy, it must be a fairly husky baby.

Youth: A Challenge to Communism

One of the most important phases of Communist activity, both in Russia and in the United States, is the youth movement. Here again numbers are not a complete index to strength. The League of Communist Youth in the United States has only 8,000 duly qualified members. But even this figure represents a 100 per cent increase in membership in the past year, while the program of joint action movements, such as the American League Against War and Fascism is said to have attracted the enthusiastic support of more than a million young people of both sexes.

They are alert to the challenge of youth. It is interesting to read the claims which Earl Browder made for the Communist youth organizations in the United States. Speaking at the Communist International Congress at Moscow on July 29, 1935, he declared:

"The party actively led the youth movement. We have established a united front of the Young Communist League with a number of progressive youth organizations. This united front effectively defeated the Fascist elements on a very simple question, that of the right of the Youth Congress to elect its own chairman. The Fascists tried to appoint their chairman, but were defeated. . . .

"The Comintern (Communist International) must call on all parties in capitalist countries to pay the greatest attention to work among youths. A serious struggle against Fascism is impossible without this."

Communist Schools

Reporting on the work of the Summer Training School of the New Jersey District of the Young Communist League, the *Daily Worker* (September 19, 1935) stated:

Some fifteen comrades from most of the important points in the District, including three Negro comrades and several unemployed in shops, took part in a two weeks' program of study. Fundamentals of Communism were studied for five days; Organizational Problems for four days; the Negro Problem for two days, and Trade Union work for three. We also had a lecture on the history of the Young Communist International by a member of the National Committee of the Y. C. L.

The School was organized and financed through local initiative (the costs were over \$100) and taught by leading party and league comrades of the district.*

Another Trojan Horse: The United Front

The scene is the former ballroom of the Hall of Nobles, Moscow, now the headquarters of the Com-

* The character and curriculum of Communist Schools will be treated in a later number of this Bulletin.

munist International. Although the marble columns and glittering candelabra of the imperial palace remain, the building has been renamed the House of Trade Unions. It was in this hall that the heroic prelate, Archbishop Cieplak, was tried for treason and condemned to death. It is now the meeting place of Communist delegates from all quarters of the globe. Comrade Browder has just boasted that the "party has been the guiding force in the development of a thriving and widely influential revolutionary cultural movement, in literature, theater, in all fields of cultural and artistic social life."

Warmed by the heady wine of applause, Mr. Browder goes on to say:

By its mass influence our party has brought about a differentiation within the Socialist party and the A. F. L., and even penetrated such movements as still remain within the framework of the old capitalist parties, such as the E. P. I. C. movement, the Utopian movement, the Technocrats, etc.

Again and again in the Communist International Congress (both for adult and youth members) the same theme was expounded. Numerically, it was granted, the Communists would be in a position of inferiority in this coalition of all elements opposed to Fascism; they would, temporarily at least, be the tail of the dog. But every one of the speakers made it plain that the tail intends to wag the dog. The alliance is to be temporary, transitional, purely opportunistic. When the Socialist, the university student, the Y. M. C. A. secretary, or white-collar worker shall have served the needs of the passing hour, they are to be as mercilessly relegated to the headsman as were the Nepman or the kulak when once the most acute crisis in Soviet economic life had been weathered in Russia. There is nothing strange about the policy except that it should be, I will not say, divulged, but proclaimed in trumpet tones to the listening bourgeoisie and capitalist world.

A New Slogan: Anti-Fascism

Perhaps no one at the recent Congress exercised greater influence or commanded a more enraptured audience when he spoke than Dimitroff, the Bulgarian Communist of the Reichstag fire courtroom fame. In the opinion of foreign observers and newspaper men, Dimitroff's speech at the Congress was regarded as the most important statement of policy since Joseph Stalin's declaration that Socialism can be built in a single country. This epoch-making address included a lengthy analysis of the situation in the United States.

Heeding the menace of Fascism, (*Voilà l'ennemi: le fascisme*; for a long time the archfiend was "Imperialism") Dimitroff openly advocated the formation with Communist participation of a Worker-Farmer party, which would be "neither Communist nor Socialist, but anti-Fascist." Such an American

party, said Mr. Dimitroff, would oppose monopolies and fight for genuine social legislation, for the rights of share croppers and Negroes, for cancellation of farmers' debts and for the bonus demands of War veterans. This appeal found a welcome reception among Communists in the United States. If you doubt this statement, speak to any party member about prospects in this country and he will cite the action of several State labor organizations in endorsing the principle of the "united front" and co-operative action in the Farmer-Worker party.

Soviet Publications in the U. S. A.

In analyzing the prospects for revolution in the United States, therefore, one must begin with an appraisal of the Soviet prowess in the field of publication. What does the record show?

Millions of books and pamphlets are issued on thousands of Marxian, Communist, Socialist, atheist, and other subversive subjects in this country every year. The spearhead of this attack, of course, is the *Daily Worker*, published in New York. This daily newspaper, capably edited and efficiently managed, has shown a steady increase in circulation until now its output stands above the 42,000 mark.

What is equally amazing is the fact that there are 300 other Communist newspapers and magazines regularly circulated in factory and farm. They appear in most of the important foreign languages. A good deal of this literature has found its way into FERA-financed workers' schools. First- and second-grade readers for small American children have been prepared. Two hundred thousand of these textbooks have already been distributed. The most widely circulated single book is that by Joseph Stalin on Lenin and Bolshevism.

Who Subsidizes Communism?

Is the propaganda of the party also backed by money? As one reads the diversified character of the far-flung Red Front in the United States, one conclusion becomes unmistakable. An organization that can publish and circulate books, newspapers, and magazines, that can rent buildings for headquarters and schools in most large cities, that is able to control the program in 200 or more theaters, film laboratories, stores, trade agencies, bond agencies, and operate thirty or more camps (three of which are incorporated in New York State for \$1,000,000) must enjoy subsidies and revenues that are well in excess of \$6,000,000 a year. Certain people with money have made an investment in the American Communist movement. Why has it never been denied that a number of wealthy citizens in Los Angeles and San Francisco, Calif., including some picture stars and the so-called "Rockefeller of the West Coast," contributed lavishly to the Red war chest

during the waterfront strikes last year? Evidently, these backers of the Soviet consider the revolution a good risk. Perhaps they expect to get their stake back with dividends inasmuch as the Communists state in plain language that the first act of the "Soviet Government," when established in the United States, will be to confiscate all banks, factories, farms, property, savings and business.

A Program of Counter-Attack

The gravity of the Communistic threat to our religious, social, and civil institutions calls for intelligent, concerted, persevering action. The concrete recommendations to deal with the situation (assuming, of course, continued emphasis on our Christian program of social justice) may be summed up in a five-point program:

1. The demand for a thoroughgoing Congressional

investigation of the substantial sources of Soviet finance in the United States.

2. The immediate closing of FERA schools where there have been proved violations of rules concerning propaganda, whether put forth by professors, administrators, or in printed material.

3. Investigation of Messrs. Earl Browder, Gill Green, and William Z. Foster on the ground that they have transferred their allegiance to a foreign power.

4. Avoidance of any semblance of participation in or cooperation with Communists in support of "common issues." Hand in hand with this decision would go an effort to expose the Communist grand strategy of "boring in" on youth, labor, soldier, Socialist, and religious groups.

5. Support for the Tinkham Resolution, at least to the extent that hearings be permitted on the proposal to dissolve diplomatic relations with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

Communist Strength Varies

Party Which Seeks to Play a Part in American Campaign Now Claims 50,000 Members

By JOSEPH SHAPLAN

In New York Times, Oct. 18, 1936

THE injection of the issue of communism into the race between the major parties—an issue which President Roosevelt called a "false" one—has served to direct attention both to the strength of the Communist Party in the United States and to its strategy during this campaign.

Measured by its party membership in ratio to the population of the country, the Communist Party of the United States is probably the weakest of all Communist Parties functioning outside Russia. On August 5, 1935, Earl Browder, as general secretary of the Communist Party, reported to the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in Moscow that the party in this country numbered 30,000 members, as compared with 10,000 in 1930. William Z. Foster, another Communist leader and the party's candidate for President in 1924, 1928, and 1932, reported, in addition, a membership of 8,000 in the League of Communist Young.

These are the last official Communist figures available. Recent unofficial claims vary between 45,000 and 50,000.

VOTE IN NATIONAL ELECTIONS

The Communist movement began functioning politically in this country in 1919. It made its first appearance in the national arena in the presidential election of 1924, when Mr. Foster, candidate of the Workers Party, as the Communists then called themselves, polled 33,361 votes out of a total vote of 29,022,261.

Four years later Mr. Foster received 48,770 votes, the total vote cast being 36,879,414.

In the 1932 election, after three years of depression offering conditions most fertile for the growth of radicalism, Mr. Foster's vote was 102,991 out of a total of 39,816,522 votes cast. This year a larger vote is sought, with Mr. Browder as the presidential candidate.

On the basis of figures cited by Mr. Browder, it is evident that the party membership fluctuates widely. Writing in *The Party Organizer*, for May-June, 1934, official publication of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, the party's general secretary said:

"Since 1930 we recruited 49,050 members. Together with the membership of 7,545 in 1930, this makes a total of 56,595 (March, 1934). However, the actual dues-paying membership in the first quarter of 1934 averaged somewhat over 24,000—a gain of about 16,500 in the last three years. For the same period 33,000 members dropped out of the party."

In a table appended to his article, Mr. Browder revealed fluctuations in the party membership between the years 1931 to 1933, inclusive, ranging from 50 to 77 per cent.

"In this period we recruited 43,426 members and increased the number of dues-paying members by only 15,197," Mr. Browder explained. "In the last six months of 1933 there has been a steady decrease

in fluctuation, reaching the comparatively low figure of 53 per cent."

COMMUNIST STRATEGY

The Communists' strategy and tactics in the present campaign are in keeping with the Communist world strategy as laid down at the last Comintern congress. A perusal of recent press cables from Moscow and of the official record of the proceedings of the Comintern congress will reveal that the victory of Hitlerism in Germany, the weakening of the Communist movement in a number of countries and the threat of aggression against Soviet Russia emanating from Germany had brought Moscow to the view that the old Communist policy of bitter opposition to capitalist democracy and all non-Communist labor and political elements had to be abandoned, for the time being at least; that the exigencies of Soviet foreign policy and Soviet national interest, as well as the interests of the Communist movement abroad, required cooperation, wherever such cooperation could be obtained, with all non-Communist democratic elements outside of Russia. Preservation of "the remnants of bourgeois democracy" became a new Communist slogan.

In embarking upon this new course, the Communist International, as the resolutions of its seventh congress show, in no way abandoned the ultimate aims of communism, namely establishment of proletarian dictatorships in other countries.

RESULTS IN FRANCE

In France the new strategy found expression in the united front between the Socialists and Communists and participation of the Communists in the Popular Front, which now controls the French Government. In other democratic countries, however, the Communists have been unable to make headway with their new "line."

In the United States the Communists, while appealing for votes for Mr. Browder, have subjected Governor Landon to greater attack than Mr. Roosevelt. This, in the view of some observers, is because Moscow fears that the election of a President more conservative than Mr. Roosevelt may lead to complications embarrassing to Soviet Russia—perhaps the withdrawal of Soviet recognition—and because in the event of a clash between Soviet Russia and Japan a liberal government in the United States would be more desirable than a conservative one from Moscow's point of view.



Knowledge of Communism
and
A United Christian Front
Against
The Third International





Part II

World Survey



Communist Activity Throughout the World From July, 1935

At present world attention is centered upon the clash of communist and anti-communist forces in Spain. As an indication of communist activity not only in that country but in other parts of the world, the following summary, compiled from the NEW YORK TIMES INDEX, is presented. In part it reflects the policies promulgated at the Seventh Communist International Congress in Moscow in July, 1935, particularly efforts on the part of the communists to accomplish "united front" coalitions with other radical groups, both for political action and for the promotion of youth communist movements. Compiled in Chamber of Commerce of the United States.

AUSTRIA

- July 6 Two communists and gendarme die in clash near Graz.
- July 7 Socialist, communist and nazi political prisoners in Vienna police prison unite to demand restoration of habeas corpus rights.
- July 12 Hunger strike staged by socialist-communist political prisoners throughout country.
- July 14 Strike supported in some prisons by communists, nazis and criminals.
- July 14 Three hundred young communists arrested in working class suburbs for anti-government demonstrations.
- July 15 Socialists and communists cancel illegal demonstrations.
- July 31 Eight men on trial before special military court charged with spreading communist cells through their regiment and giving information to communist party.
- Sept. 1 Fifty communists and socialists arrested, literature seized.

BRAZIL

- Aug. 5 Members of Russo-Ukranian Society arrested; red propaganda charged.
- Aug. 23 Appeals court dismisses criminal libel charges brought by communist group against Rio de Janeiro police chief.
- Nov. 6 Clash between Integralistas and communists in Esperito Santo.
- Dec. 1 Newspapers in Brazil demand legislation to crush communism.

- Dec. 12 Brazilian rebels face strict curbs; congress decrees imprisonment and dismissals to halt communist drive.

BULGARIA

- Aug. 17 Communist conspiracy reported in Sofia, Plovdiv and Dzhumaja; 63 arrested.
- Sept. 15 Raids believed to have halted communist revolution movement.

CHILE

- Sept. 7 Vast Soviet network reported uncovered.

CHINA

- July 18 Sinkiang Province—a soviet government reported virtually in control.
- Sept. 1 Lolo tribesmen drive out communist propagandists.
- Sept. 2 Red armies advance southward.
- Sept. 25 Troop train wrecked; communists suspected.
- Oct. 6 Gen. Chiang's troops to check red threat to Lanchow.
- Oct. 15 Chiang confers with Gen. Yen Hsi-shan in Nanking on anti-red campaign.
- Oct. 29 Japanese army offers to help Gen. Chiang war on reds in North; also ready to act alone.
- Nov. 2 Assassination plot against Premier Wang Ching-wei and three other officials ascribed to Chinese communists.
- Nov. 3 Communist plot theory scouted by foreign office.
- Nov. 29 Canton delegation to Kuomingtang con-

- gress scores omission by congress of resolutions denouncing reds.
- Dec. 23 China combats reds in Shansi by land socialization program.

CUBA

- July 2 Red plot in Oriente Province foiled.
- Aug. 18 Communist mob sacks office of liberal party.

FINLAND

- July 12 Maj. O. Kohonen, member of Finnish general staff, arrested by latter; connections with Soviet espionage organization suspected.
- Nov. 21 Communists abroad protest unfair trials re: Gen. T. S. Antikainen.

FRANCE

- July 8 R. Calas, on staff of communist paper "Humanite" charged with espionage (Paris).
- July 15 Communist demonstration at Lyons.
- Aug. 23 Croix de Feu attacked by communists.
- Oct. 7 Amsterdam Labor International sends minutes of executive committee session to Red Trade Union International.
- Oct. 21 M. Cachin, first communist to sit in upper house.

GERMANY

- July 6 H. Jaenicke, communist, put to death for murder of Storm trooper.
- July 20 Count W. von Helldorf appealed police president of Berlin to purge city of communist attempts to undermine regime.
- July 26 R. Claus sentenced to be beheaded for acting as treasurer of Red Help, communist secret organization.
- July 31 P. Scheffer, German editor, satirizes U. S. discovery of relation of U. S. S. R. and communist international.
- Nov. 17 Secret police forms special group to combat communism.
- Nov. 19 Increasing number of secret trials for communist activity.
- Dec. 16 German communist leader in nazi prison in danger of losing his life according to his attorney.
- Dec. 18 Communist beheaded in Berlin for "preparing for treason."

GREAT BRITAIN

- July 7 Communists in London stage sympathy demonstration for German comrades.
- Sept. 5 British Trade Union Congress opposes joint meeting with communists for united action against war and fascism.

- Oct. 6 Prime Minister Baldwin in speech says trade unionism prevents communism and fascism.

GREECE

- Aug. 27 Communist press banned.
- Sept. 22 Communist anti-restoration movement suppressed.
- Sept. 22 "Rizospastis," communist daily, suspended.
- Sept. 29 Royalists claim American communist help asked by Greek communists.
- Oct. 18 Policeman shot when communists attempt to hold meeting at Athens.
- Oct. 19 Forty-three officers and 13 members of communist organization arrested for alleged plot to capture parliament and assassinate Gen. Kondylis and other officials.

GUATEMALA

- Sept. 12 Five alleged communists executed, charged with plot to kill President Ubico.

HUNGARY

- July 21 Rumor of offer to trade M. Rakosi, communist, to U. S. S. R. for orders of Hungarian goods.

JAPAN

- Sept. 3 Japan protests to Soviet government against comintern activities.
- Sept. 4 Soviet replies; calls attention to White Russian anti-soviet activity in Manchuria.
- Sept. 5 Japan disavows responsibility for White Russian activity.
- Sept. 11 Maj. Gen. Isogai says Japanese will not tolerate establishment of communist government in Eastern Asia.
- Nov. 6 Japanese War Minister declares Japanese army ready to act alone to protect Manchukuo if China fails to cooperate in suppressing red movements.
- Nov. 13 Police discover new society called Anarchist-Communist Party; 88 members seized.

LATVIA

- Aug. 28 Reported to have protested to Soviet government against Comintern activities; Soviet government rejected protest.

MEXICO

- Nov. 21 Clash between communists and Gold Shirts in front of national palace.

PALESTINE

- July 28 Communist round-up ordered; 10 arrests reported.
- Aug. 5 Communist prisoners halt hunger strike against prison treatment.

SPAIN

- July 28 Martial law in Barcelona result of violent campaign of anarcho-syndical terrorists.
- Aug. 2 Precautions taken in Madrid on communist red day.
- Aug. 11 One killed, 3 injured in fascist-communist clash, Seville.
- Sept. 1 Gunfire between alleged communists and police, 2 killed and 3 injured.
- Nov. 10 Precaution to be taken against fascist-communist outbreaks as result of clashes.

URUGUAY

- Dec. 27 Uruguay has decided to ask Soviet Minister to leave country after Brazil charges legation forwards instructions to rebel chiefs.
- Dec. 28 Uruguay severs relations with Soviet Russia.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

- July 26 Four hundred delegates from 50 countries attend 7th Communist International Congress, Moscow.
- July 26 Congress decides to join with more moderate elements of capitalist countries to combat menace of fascism.
- July 29 Pieck reports for executive committee urging creation of united proletarian front with ultimate aim of world revolution.
- July 29 Congress issues orders to parties in capitalist countries including United States.
- Aug. 3 Congress votes to formulate basic policies but to avoid interference in internal work of individual parties; orders League of Communist Youth to bore within in capitalist countries; plans training of new leaders; approves united front with moderates to oppose fascism.
- Aug. 5 G. Dimitroff and W. Pieck affirm union with moderates in temporary alliance; envision Soviet governments throughout the world.
- Aug. 6 W. Z. Foster and G. Green report on anti-fascist movement in United States; Congress plans work among unemployed.
- Aug. 7 G. Dimitroff restates plans for union with moderates in anti-fascist drive; admits aim is to sovietize world; urges com-

munist sponsored Worker-Farmer party in United States.

- Aug. 10 G. Green and Mr. Chemodonoff describe work of League of Communist Youth; Green says United States branch is building united front with other youth organizations.
- Aug. 11 Recommendations to national parties being drafted; Mr. Stone (Amer.) urges spreading of doctrines among women.
- Aug. 12 E. Browder tells of plans of American Communist Party to broaden appeal to farmers; publishes tentative program for Worker-Farmer Party in United States.
- Aug. 12 Mr. Haupness, Russian, urges stronger appeal to intelligentsia.
- Aug. 12 A. Lozoavsky urges joining of Red Trade Union International and Liberal Amsterdam Trade Union International.
- Aug. 15 Dimitroff says fascism is greatest foe; reiterates statement charging United States behind movement.
- Aug. 16 Browder urges formation of anti-fascist workers party.
- Aug. 22 G. Dimitroff elected secretary-general; permanent presidium of 19 members and 12 substitutes elected.
- Aug. 22 Soviet government silent on United States protest.
- Aug. 28 Soviet government replies, declining to accept United States protest; asserts pledge has not been violated; denies responsibility for Comintern action; protests from other nations rejected.
- Aug. 30 Resolutions adopted by Comintern published.
- Sept. 2 Soviet officials silent on Hull note.
- Sept. 2 International Youth Day, Moscow.
- Sept. 25 Communist Party expels member discovered to be former princess.
- Sept. 27 G. Dimitroff links Communist International with International Congress of Communist Youth.
- Sept. 27 Sixth International Congress (League of Communist Youth) opens, Moscow; 33, including three Americans elected to presidium; J. Stalin named honorary member; G. Green on League in United States; O. W. Kusinen on results of Comintern Congress; M. Mikhal outlines 4-point program; boring from within other organizations urged.
- Sept. 30 Kusinen urges cooperation with socialists while opposing them.
- Oct. 11 Executive committee of Comintern appeals to world transport workers to tie

up shipment of goods to Italy; urges all workers to organize campaigns against war.

- Oct. 15 League of Communist Youth urges united youth against fascism, militarism, and reaction, for peace and freedom.
- Oct. 17 P. Ishan, T. Golub and Z. Zlotnitsky, traveling musicians, sentenced for counter-revolutionary activities; G. Bogatiryov expelled from Communist Party.
- Nov. 4 M. Savelieff expelled from Communist Party for helping nobility after the revolution.
- Nov. 5 M. Karasioff and accomplice named Burdikin sentenced to death for falsifying Communist Party membership tickets; two others sentenced to prison.
- Nov. 11 Thirty-two on trial for plotting overthrow of Soviets in central Asia.
- Dec. 30 Russia opens schools even to non-toilers.

UNITED STATES

- July 5 Communism attacked by F. N. Belgrano, Jr., in 4th of July radio speech.
- July 12 Rev. E. J. Higgins outlines campaign against communism planned by Catholic War Veterans Association.
- July 14 R. M. Easley in open letter to Sen. Capper urges Senate investigation of communist activities in United States.
- July 18 A. E. Stevenson sends letter to Sec. Hull protesting against spread of communist propaganda.
- July 19 W. Z. Foster reviews small influence in article on Communist International; urges formation of new party influenced but not controlled by communists.
- July 30 Ambassador Troyanovsky denies connection of United States Communist Party with U. S. S. R.
- July 31 S. Darcy predicts Pacific coast seamen's and dock workers' strike to be aided by communists in other countries as effective blow at bourgeoisie.
- Aug. 1 United States Labor leaders assail Pacific coast strike plans.
- Aug. 4 M. Woll in letter to W. Phillips, U. S. Under-Secretary of State urges protest to U. S. S. R. on Communist International activities as violation of anti-propaganda pledge.
- Aug. 9 Secretary Hull studies report of Moscow Congress.
- Aug. 10 League of Communist Youth ordered by Communist International to spread propaganda by joining other organizations in capitalist countries.

- Aug. 11 Phillips replies to M. Woll promising study.
- Aug. 17 H. L. Chaillaiux describes American Legion's efforts to defeat propaganda.
- Aug. 17 New York State Federation of Labor ousts communist delegate from convention.
- Aug. 22 J. R. Ryan replies to S. Darcy on long-shoremen's strike.
- Aug. 24 Children's camp near Prado, Calif., alleged communistic.
- Aug. 26 United States State Department protests to Soviet government against Comintern activities as violation of anti-propaganda pledge.
- Aug. 26 Alleged communistic literature dropped by plane over National Guard camp, Indiantown Gap, Pa.
- Aug. 27 Ambassador Troyanovsky says Soviet government will reply (to U. S. protest); scores agitation in United States against U. S. S. R.
- Other countries have made similar protests.
- Soviet press ignores United States protest.
- Aug. 28 William Green urges withdrawal of recognition.
- Sept. 1 Secretary Hull issues statement on Soviet not asking curb on Comintern activities.
- Sept. 2 M. Woll urges United States to sever relations because Soviet disclaims responsibility for Comintern.
- Sept. 3 International Seamen's Union leaders warn of disrupting influence of communism.
- Sept. 3 Maj. A. P. Simonds hails organized labor's stand against communism.
- Sept. 6 New Jersey Department of American Legion opposes promotion of communism in United States.
- Sept. 11 New Jersey State Federation of Labor to expel communists.
- Sept. 18 Father Pro club, anti-communist, formed by Rev. C. E. Coughlin's parish, Royal Oak, Mich.
- Sept. 18 Earl Browder returns to United States; says United States has no grounds for protest.
- Sept. 19 Communism condemned by Military Order of World War, investigation recommended.
- Sept. 22 District of Columbia Board of Education counsel interprets clause in Appropriation Act of 1935 prohibiting use of Federal funds to teach communism.
- Sept. 25 Communism assailed by A. E. Smith and Rev. F. J. Sheen at National Eucharistic Congress.

Sept. 26 American Legion National Convention urges fight against spread of propaganda.

Sept. 26 Young Communist League in demonstration against invasion of Ethiopia (New York City).

Oct. 4 E. Browder reports in New York on Comintern Congress.

Oct. 5 Gen. Johnson says several agencies of Communist Party have units around W. P. A.

Oct. 7 A. F. of L. executive council proposes to change A. F. of L. constitution to bar communist element in reply to Comintern threat of "boring from within."

Oct. 8 William Green denounces Comintern policies.

Oct. 8 A. F. of L. opposes formation of Labor Party; links demand for party with communists.

Oct. 10 A. F. of L. joins American Legion in fight against communism and subversive influences.

Oct. 10 American delegation of League of Communist Youth lauds Soviet aid to youth.

Oct. 13 Bishop Hafey urges religious education against menace of communism.

Oct. 19 Police precautions ordered as result of reported plan for anti-Italian demonstration at sailing of S. S. Rex; window of Italian lines offices smashed by communist group.

Oct. 20 A. F. of L. constitution amended barring communists from state and central labor bodies.

Oct. 20 Communist demonstration at sailing of Rex.

Oct. 20 Rep. W. M. Colmer protests to H. L. Hopkins against retention of communists on rolls.

Oct. 21 Rev. W. Parsons urges Catholic youth to organize against menace.

Oct. 22 A. F. of L. executive council endorses convention action and pledges A. F. of L. to rid membership of red termites.

Nov. 10 League of Communist Youth to admit members of religious and political groups formerly barred as move to anti-fascist groups and to fight militarization.

Nov. 10 League of Communist Youth moves to fight militarization.

Nov. 10 G. Green elected to presidium of Communist International.

Nov. 16 Controller McCarl rules that District of Columbia school employees must sign statement asserting knowledge of law, forbidding teaching or advocating communism before receiving pay checks.

Nov. 17 Effect of United States protest against Comintern Congress diminishes; postal regulations forbid mailing literature abroad.

Nov. 17 Industrial Association of Hawaii formed to counteract communism element among dock workers, Honolulu.

Dec. 2 Waldman demands that Krzycki quit Socialist party because of participation in united front activities of communists and socialists.

Dec. 2 Socialists exiled by Soviet government make appeal for aid.

Dec. 30 American Student Union assails American Legion, "student Americaneers" and Hearst papers for demanding they (union) be refused use of Y. W. C. A. halls for convention.

VENEZUELA

Nov. 23 Americans complain of censorship of all United States magazines and newspapers which hold mention of communism.

1936

AUSTRIA

Feb. 2 Vienna police raids result in seizure of 198 communists and nazis.

Apr. 12 Agreement between socialist and communist movements outlined.

May 1 Nazi and communist leaders jailed to prevent May Day disorders.

BOLIVIA

June 10 Government outlaws communism.

BRAZIL

Jan. 1 A. Minkin reiterates denial of charges that U. S. S. R. legation in Uruguay aided revolt.

Jan. 6 Brazil holds that Soviet financed revolt; activities of Yuyamtorg revealed.

Jan. 24 Soviet Commissar Litvinoff, at League of Nations hearing, ridicules Uruguayan charges.

Mar. 6 V. C. Barron, American, kills self after giving information concerning alleged communist leader of November revolt.

Mar. 8 All foreign communists connected with November revolt arrested.

Mar. 26 Mass meeting in New York City on Barron's death (communist-aided).

Apr. 9 Brazil reports 10 foreigners as reds.

Apr. 17 Seven foreign communists expelled.

May 22 Mrs. H. Berger, in testimony prior to her

deportation, confesses that she and husband are members of German Communist Party.

- June 14 Government to issue "Red Book" on communist movement. Data, to be published by Brazil, to shed light on 3rd International's aims.

BULGARIA

- Feb. 9 Large number of communists await trial; communists active despite repression.
 Feb. 17 Government experiencing difficulty with communists.
 May 4 Communists sentenced.
 May 22 Government to expel communist agitators from Greece and is considering arrest of Bulgarian communists.

CANADA

- May 31 Prime Minister King warns (communist) atheists to let Canada alone.

CHILE

- Feb. 8 One hundred fifty communists jailed.
 May 17 Newly formed Popular Front, combination of radical, socialist and communist groups, meets.

CHINA

- Jan. 4 U. S. Ambassador asks Chinese authorities to send troops to communist-beseiged city of Shihkian in Western Hunan Province.
 Jan. 9 C. Chasi comments on danger of communism in North China.
 Jan. 14 Gen. Chang Hsueh-liang's troops defeated by communists in Northern Shensi and Suiyan Provinces.
 Jan. 20 Reports of minor communist successes in Eastern Kweichow Province.
 Jan. 31 Red advance in Kweichow Province threatens Kweiyang capital; Japanese at Tientsin claim evidence of red activity in north aimed at taking over area between Great Wall and Yellow River.
 Feb. 6 Communist threat at Kweiyang lifted by arrival of provincial forces.
 Feb. 15 National government military field headquarters report crushing defeat of communists in southwest Szechuan Province.
 Feb. 17 Communists in Hunan Province endanger missionaries.
 Feb. 29 Japanese watch advance of communists in Kaoyi District of Shansi Province.
 Mar. 7 Shansi Province troops reported victorious over reds.

- Mar. 17 Maj. Gen. Tada says Japan will intervene if China communists in Shansi attempt to enlarge territory under their control.

- Mar. 21 Maj. Gen. Isogai of Japan reports news that some of Chang Hsueh-liang's Shansi Province troops mutinied and joined reds; Chinese officials deny report.

- Mar. 22 Ambassador Arita at Shanghai reports U. S. S. R. seeks non-aggression pact with China.

- Apr. 6 Two hundred reds, preparing to attack Fenchow, Shansi Province, reported killed by government planes.

- Apr. 13 East Hopei autonomous council to enter alliance with Manchukuo for common defense against reds by Japanese army.

- Apr. 13 Shansi officials estimate fatalities in anti-red campaign.

- Apr. 13 Reds in Yunnan Province active.

- May 2 Officials of Hopei-Chahar Autonomous Council report agreement between Chinese and Japanese authorities for suppression of reds in North China.

- May 7 Japanese reported urging anti-red agreement between Hopei Chahar Council and Manchukuo.

- May 7 Red crisis ends in Shansi.

- May 9 Communist army under Mao Tze-tung in Southwest Shensi Province routed by government planes.

- May 12 Government planes and infantry continue pursuit of reds.

- May 13 Government plans campaign of force and economic blockade against reds.

- May 14 Communists return to Northern Shensi from Shansi.

COLOMBIA

- Jan. 17 Pacific railway laborers protest arrest of communists for distributing subversive literature.

- Jan. 28 Minister of government, in letter to Governor of Antioquia on outlaw textile strike, warns against subversive doctrines of anarchists, revolutionary unionists, communists and socialists.

CORSICA

- June 1 Communists and socialists demonstrate at inauguration of new Italian Consulate.

COSTA RICA

- Jan. 8 Prof. C. Saenz nominated by Communist Party as presidential candidate.

- Apr. 5 Election of L. Cortes believed to forecast end of Communist Party strength.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- Feb. 21 Fifteen German emigres arrested charged with communist activities.

ECUADOR

- Feb. 2 Pres. Paez warns communists of exile in Galapagos Islands unless agitation stops.
Feb. 4 Communists threaten Paez in reply.

FRANCE

- Feb. 10 Socialists and communists honor victims of 1934 riots.
Feb. 16 Communists and royalists clash at Dieppe.
Feb. 24 J. M. Clamamus, communist deputy, elected senator to take seat of former Premier Laval.
Mar. 1 Police guard funeral of communist, who died of wounds received in 1934 riots, to prevent clashes with nationalists.
Apr. 3 Police chief of Toches hurt in fight between fascists and communists.
May 1 Communist party sets minimum program for government.
May 2 Deputy Martinand-Deplat, radical socialist, attacked and beaten at communist rally for refusing to withdraw from run-off election.
May 3 Red revolution seen as unlikely.
May 4 Elections held. Popular front of communists, socialists, and radical socialists wins 375 of 618 seats; communists get 71 seats.
May 8 Communists to put forward moderate program.
May 10 Radical socialists to join cabinet; communists refuse but will support policies.
May 11 Blum, in speech to executive council of socialist party, forecasts dictatorial rules as premier outlines moderate policy; appeals for communist support; assails fascism.
May 12 Blum again offers communist leaders part in government; refusal expected as other left groups will not agree to formation of popular front committees, little soviets, in all towns and villages.
May 15 Communists refuse to join cabinet.
May 17 Blum will face difficulties in attempting to keep support of communists and radical socialists.
May 25 Socialists and communists parade in celebration of election victory; minor clash between communists and Trotskyists.
June 4 Communists and radical socialists show signs of disagreement with Blum's policies.

- June 5 Communist is one of four vice-presidents of Chamber of Deputies.
June 15 Leftist popular front organizations in towns and villages celebrate election victory and advent of Blum government; communists prominent in celebration.
June 28 Conservative radical socialists accuse communist collaborators in popular front for responsibility for daily strikes and disorders.
June 30 Communists demand dissolution of Col. de la Roque's new party.

GERMANY

- Jan. 23 Dissolution of marriage may be demanded for communist activity.
Jan. 28 P. Christensen, Danish worker, arrested as alleged communist, after being lured across border; J. Fribert, Danish ship officer, given five years imprisonment for giving German dock worker communist newspaper.
Mar. 1 Sentences in mass trial of 25 alleged communists for 1931 clash with Nazis.
Apr. 11 Pieck extols communists.
May 8 Ex-communist party members jailed for forming community for listening to Soviet broadcasts.
May 19 Communists and socialists sentenced for distributing forbidden political literature.
May 19 Twenty-five communists and socialists sentenced for having connections with emigrants who sent them reading material.
June 15 Dr. Goebbels, at party rally in Hildesheim, comments on Nazi regime's successful campaign against bolshevism.
June 22 Twenty-nine Saar-Pfalz residents tried before Peoples Tribunal charged with attempts to revive communist party, Frankfort.

GREECE

- Jan. 5 King George petitioned by liberal leaders that amnesty be given communists held in concentration camps.
Jan. 28 Official election returns give communists 16 seats.
Jan. 31 Communists offer support to Venizelists if latter promise restoration of democratic rights and release of communists held in concentration camps.
Feb. 3 Tsaldaris attacks communists as not being Greeks.
Feb. 13 Communists hold balance of power.
Mar. 3 Fifteen communists leave as King George

opens first crown session of parliament since 1923.

- Mar. 7 Communists support Venizelists in Chamber of Deputies presidency election.
- May 10 Strike reported under communist leadership.
- May 21 Government guards Bulgarian frontier to prevent entrance of communist agitators.
- June 5 Two communist deputies in village of Valo arrested for complicity in riots.

HUNGARY

- Apr. 1 Thirty-four high school students arrested in drive on communism; Budapest.

IRELAND

- Apr. 13 Clashes between republicans and communists, Dublin, during Easter week Rebellion of 1916 Memorial Celebration.

JAPAN

- Apr. 23 Newspaper *Hochi* charges that Japanese employees of Soviet Embassy arrested Feb. 26 are former communists who plan to reconstruct communist party.

LATIN AMERICA

- Jan. 4 Man arrested as H. Vieira said to be A. P. Cooper, communist International agent.
- Jan. 6 Yuyamtorg charged with being representative of Comintern.
- Jan. 7 H. Berger, American, arrested in Brazil as agent of Soviet.
- Jan. 8 Berger refuses to talk; document said to have bearing on relations between U. S. and U. S. S. R.
- Jan. 12 Berger couple faces trial; homes of friends, alleged American agents of Third International, raided.
- Jan. 14 Belief expressed that Comintern will set up offices in Mexico to direct work in Central and South America.
- Feb. 29 A. Berinsky arrested in Brazil with woman; said to be Comintern agent.

MANCHUKUO

- Feb. 2 U. S. S. R. propaganda blamed by Manchukuoan government for mutiny of detachment of Manchukuoan army at Mishan, mutineers fleeing to Soviet territory.

MEXICO

- Feb. 5 General strike called at Monterrey; aimed at communists in control of glass factory strike.
- Feb. 7 Vera Cruz students protest against com-

munist activity; communists abandon arms in flight, in fight between workers' factions in Atlixco, Pueblo.

- Feb. 8 President Cardenas arrives in Monterrey to study strike; declares communism does not exist in Mexico.
- Feb. 9 Regional Federation of Workers and Peasants threatens to seize and operate factories if employers carry out nationwide anti-red shut-down.
- Feb. 10 Cardenas rejects talk of communist movement; condemns employers for demonstration; reviews parade of 13,000 workers singing Internationale; five killed in clash between communists and marine workers in Tampico; Gen. Soto Lara removed as military commander of Tampico on accusation of supporting radicals.
- Feb. 11 Gen. N. Rodriguez, leader of anti-communist Gold Shirts, arrested.
- Feb. 13 Cardenas issues ultimatum to employers to meet legitimate demands of workers and avert class war.
- Feb. 19 Clash between communists and fascists at Monterrey.
- Mar. 23 Thirty thousand communist workers meet in bull-ring, Mexico City; 1,500 anti-communists, marching on workers, stopped by police.

MOROCCO

- Mar. 22 Twenty hurt as Croix de Feu members clash with popular front leftists at Port Lyautey.

NETHERLANDS

- May 2 Minor clash between fascists and communists on May Day; Amsterdam.

NICARAGUA

- Feb. 13 Communists spread disturbances.

NORWAY

- May 23 Nazis and communists clash; six hurt; Gjoevik.

PALESTINE

- May 1 Communists arrested.

PERU

- Jan. 9 Masked raiders seize Lima radio station and broadcast leftist propaganda.

POLAND

- Jan. 12 S. Bartosik, A. Bronhaupt, and G. Szprynger arrested for communist propaganda in the army.
- Apr. 3 Arrests in communist round-up.

- Apr. 17,
19, 20 Alleged communist riots.
Apr. 23 Communist arrests continue.

SOUTH AMERICA

- Jan. 26 Yuyamtorg Corporation begins liquidation.
Feb. 7 Argentine Foreign Office denies plan to end communists' citizenship.
Feb. 13 Buenos Aires *Prensa* denies red menace; says South American governments are classing all foes as communists.

SPAIN

- Jan. 2 Left front formed to overthrow right majorities.
Feb. 13 Leftists routed after possession of El Romeral.
Feb. 17 Left victory in Catalonia elections.
Feb. 18 Left victory believed to be republican rather than socialist.
Feb. 20 F. L. Caballero (socialist) promises to carry on with Marxist aim of establishing proletariat dictatorship.
Feb. 21 Leftists direct activities against Catholics and rightists; socialists aim to overthrow present form of democracy and set up Union of Iberian Soviet Republics.
Feb. 23 Socialists and communists celebrate general amnesty; G. Ward Price claims communist International threatened to stop subsidies unless communists cooperated with republicans.
Feb. 26 Diplomatic relations to be resumed with U. S. S. R.
Mar. 9 Leftist demonstration for women helpers.
Mar. 10 Marxist celebrations of election victory degenerate into rioting.
Mar. 15 Marxist demonstrations prohibited by Azana; disorders in Logrono.
Mar. 25 Right leaders ask protection against Marxist terrorists and protest left tactics in Cortes.
Apr. 21 Communist organ demands dissolution of Catholic Popular Action Party.
May 19 Sixty-two officers of regiments of Alcalade Hinares arrested on charges of insubordination for refusing to obey transfer order following clash with communists.
May 12 Caballero outlines party's plans in speech to Marxist Deputies and special electors who voted for Azana.
May 20 Labor conflicts and strikes called by Marxist trade unions in effect all over country.
May 25 Madrid threatened with service strike as workers demand that those who re-

placed them in political strike, 1934, be discharged or forced to join Marxist unions.

- June 11 Communists and syndicalists battle at Malaga.
June 12 Two communists killed and president of county council assassinated in continued clashes at Malaga.
June 14 Civil guard seized by gang of communists in village of Palenciana and decapitated.
June 14 Gunboat escorts mail steamer seized by 180 communists and syndicalists at Tangier.
June 16 Communist killed, Arcos de la Frontera.
June 27 Fascist offensive against Marxist revolutionary movement expected.
June 28 Rightists and communists clash.

SYRIA

- June 15 Communist demonstration; 40 arrests.

UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS

- Jan. 5 Finnish dispatch reports former Premier E. Gylling slain on way to Solovetsky Island prison camp; purging of former Gylling regime said to be continuing.
Jan. 6 Six former White Guards arrested for murder of I. Postukhoff.
Jan. 8 Documents found in Brazil said to have grave bearings on relations between U. S. and Russia.
Jan. 11 Premier Molotoff states necessity for increasing all arms because of European and Asiatic menace; Congress of the Central Executive Committee opens.
Jan. 13 Military budget to be increased.
Jan. 15 Increased defense budget adopted.
Jan. 16 Soviet Ambassador Potemkin, in conference with Premier Laval of France, urges prompt ratification of mutual assistance pact.
Jan. 18 Dr. P. J. Goebbels of Germany warns Soviet army to watch its step.
Jan. 25 Disappearance of slogan, "For World Revolution," from new coins seen as indication of change in policy.
Jan. 27 Sentencing of E. M. Abramoff and others for manipulating government bond swindle.
Jan. 31 Buryat Mongolian Republic delegation to Moscow feted by Soviet officials at Kremlin reception; pledged military aid in defense of Soviet Union.
Feb. 3 M. Litvinoff's terming of Edward VIII as a mediocre young Englishman may affect relations with Great Britain adversely.
Feb. 5 Indications of strengthening of defenses between Leningrad and White Sea.

Feb. 9 President Kalinin reveals intention to build up naval defense.

Feb. 22 Finnish newspaper reports on alleged hardships of Finnish Ingrians deported to Kasakstan Soviet Republic.

Feb. 24 Civilians pass tests in defense technique against aerial and chemical warfare.

Feb. 24, 25 Eighteenth anniversary of founding of army celebrated; Marshal Bluecher urges it to be prepared for invasion, and warns Far Eastern army to be on alert against attack.

Feb. 27 A. Andreyeff announces plans for establishment of graduate school of propaganda connected with Communist University of Moscow.

Feb. 28 L. Trotsky's statement to Associated Press charges harsh treatment of political prisoners.

Mar. 5 J. V. Stalin denies U. S. S. R. ever planned world revolution.

Mar. 15 Comment in *New York Times* on paradox which finds Stalin working for peace despite his theory that a new round of wars would result in spread of communism in capitalistic countries.

Mar. 19 Cossacks pledge support to red army.

Apr. 19 Communist Party enrollment of new members resumed after three years.

Apr. 25 T. Poveryaeff, White Guard leader, sentenced to death for sabotage in locomotive plant.

Apr. 22 Class divisions reported wiped out.

May 4 Army will gain strength in Far East by fresh divisions and new mechanized forces.

May 5 Pact with France registered with League of Nations.

May 17 Pact promulgated in France.

May 17 New constitution, drafted by commission headed by J. Stalin, completed.

May 22 Foreign observers hold socialized system responsible for poor quality of products.

May 27 Eleven agitators sentenced; Odessa.

May 31 Soviet control committee assails unjust expulsions of collective farm members.

June 6 Special session of All-Union Congress of Soviets to be called to pass on new constitution.

June 7 Constitution tends toward democracy.

June 12 Text approved by Presidium of All-Union Central Executive Committee.

June 21 Stalin explains contested elections in Russia.

June 26 Constitution to be voted on by All-Union Congress about middle of November.

UNITED STATES

Jan. 15 G. Soule, author, urges course in Marxism for college students.

Jan. 18 C. Hathaway, *Daily Worker* editor, questioned by New York City District Attorney for alleged violation of Criminal Anarchy Law by *Daily Worker*, communist paper, refuses to answer questions on paper's connection with Comintern.

Jan. 26 Alfred E. Smith says U. S. must choose between communism and democracy.

Feb. 13 Fight between reds and "fascist" groups given as reason for delay in WPA writers' project.

Feb. 14 V. F. Ridder, New York relief administrator, blames communists for demonstrations against WPA.

Feb. 22 Communists picket German, Japanese, and Italian Consulates in New York City protesting war preparations against U. S. S. R.

Feb. 24 Two women arrested for distributing seditious pamphlets on Navy vessel; Citizens' Union legislative committee opposes Assemblyman Ostertag's (N.Y.) bill to bar communists from ballot.

Mar. 6 Earl Browder, head of Communist Party in U. S. A., urges union of communists with national Farmer-Labor Party.

Mar. 8 Browder outlines communist program.

Mar. 9 Socialist "old guard" charges left wing with communistic doctrines.

Mar. 24 Ridder again blames communists for WPA demonstrations.

Mar. 30 Charges made of existence of communistic organizations in New York City high schools.

Apr. 14 Report charges that New York City Projects Council is creature and instrument of Communist Party.

Apr. 14 Communist Party demands that labor organizations be permitted to parade Fifth Avenue on May Day.

Apr. 21 Communism attacked by speakers at D. A. R. convention.

Apr. 25 Communist-controlled youth movements attacked.

Apr. 27 Borough President Harvey says communism influences U. S. relief agencies, government and educational institutions.

Apr. 27 Senator Davis charges WPA theatre money is used to aid communist program.

May 5 Executive committee of New York State Chamber of Commerce issues excerpts from report on communist activities;

will ask District Attorney Dodge for inquiry to determine whether state criminal anarchy law is violated.

- May 6 Dodge says he is continuing New York County inquiry into communism started two years ago; asks for evidence.
- May 10 Philadelphia Board of Education to investigate charges of teaching communism in schools.
- May 12 Communism attacked by Pope Pius XI.
- May 15 New York State Legislature passes McNaboe bill for legislative inquiry of alleged communistic activities in schools and colleges.
- May 17 Representative Dickstein urges deportation of alien communists.
- May 17 Representative Dickstein urges communist ban in all states.
- May 21 Communist mass meeting, Madison Square Garden.
- May 21 Norman Thomas, socialist, rejects Earl Browder's communist offer for joint ticket in presidential election.
- June 6 Oxford group offers self as substitute for communism, fascism, and socialism; moves to reform political methods.
- June 15 Communism denounced by Senator Moore.
- June 15 Communist Party convention; candidates.
- June 16 Communist Party convention resolution against loss of unemployment relief by veterans; final session.
- June 21 Mrs. W. A. Becker recommends youth programs as combating communist influence.
- June 27 J. W. Ford discusses growth of Communist Party among negroes; Harlem, New York City.
- June 27 Communist Party membership placed at 16,000.

June 27 Socialist Party state committee bars communists from floor of convention to urge joint ticket.

June 28 Socialist Party rejects communist proposal for joint ticket.

June 30 Socialist Party state committee rejects communists' bid to appoint committee to confer on united front.

URUGUAY

- Jan. 4 Minkin, U. S. S. R. representative, leaves Uruguay.
- Jan. 7, 8 Arrest of H. Berger, American, and wife in Brazil throws light on Minkin's expulsion.
- Jan. 11 Premier Molotoff states Uruguayan severance of relations with U. S. S. R. was at behest of Brazil.
- Jan. 16 Ambassador Potemkin discusses with Premier Laval of France the Soviet protest to the League of Nations against the expulsion of Minkin from Uruguay.
- Jan. 24 Commissar Litvinoff, at League hearing, demands that Uruguay reveal alleged bank account; request denied; Brazil revolt charges ridiculed.
- Jan. 26 Brazil starts revolt inquiry.

VATICAN CITY

- May 12 Pius XI declares Communism "*the most serious menace of our times.*"
- June 1 Pius XI warns of necessity for vigilance against communism.

VENEZUELA

- Jan. 13 Fear of communist uprising reported.
- May 22 Twenty thousand in Caracas riot during strike demanding dissolution of Congress; law making communist beliefs a crime blamed for outbreak.





Part III

The Christian Program



Christianity and Communism

From "THE CHRISTIAN FRONT" (Aug., 1936). *A Monthly Magazine of Social Reconstruction, Published at 167 West 97th St., N. Y. C.*

THE best way to destroy a bad idea is to establish a good idea. The way to a good social order lies in building on Christian principles. But before any building can be begun, the debris left by the selfish individualism of modern capitalism must be cleared away. We must pioneer to a good social order. We must try new methods; we must build a new social system, a new political and economic system—systems founded on Christian principles *only*, not on principles which are part Christian and part materialistic. To discuss the formation of a system which combines Christian ethics with the practices of economic liberalism, or of Marxism, or of Fascism, is but to waste time and can lead only to further confusion.

Too much time and energy have already been wasted in the attempt to baptize Communism, on the principle of cooperation between two men removing the log which obstructs the way to a better social order. The log represents selfish individualism, and because both Christians and Marxists condemn it, some contend that Christianity and Marxism might well co-operate to one good end. But the log removing principle is bad in three details: the Christian and Communist see it thru different eyes, would remove it in different ways, and both have different destinations.

In other words, Christianity is inspired by love, uses pure means, and has a *supernatural* end. Communism is inspired by hatred, uses impure means, and has a temporal end. They are two antagonistic philosophies; the way to order lies not in blending them, but in keeping separate the two, so that the error may be destroyed, and the truth preserved.

Nothing less than a new social order is indicated. But until that can be realized, common sense urges the establishment of institutions which can exist alongside the present system, yet not be of it. These can be obtained only by direct action, people helping themselves. Credit unions must be established to break the domination of the banking system; consumers' and producers' co-operatives to ensure some

measure of freedom from large monopolies, and to enable producers to pay just wages and sell honest goods for just prices. In industrial centers, workmen must be organized for the sake of commutative justice, so that they may be able to protect their right to a living wage, to free contracts, to free association; the best such organization is according to vocational groupings, as recommended in the encyclicals. Vocational organization provides a method of adjusting wages and improving working conditions in a peaceable way. For the rural population, the special need is subsistence homesteading; stable title to land is the rural equivalent of the urban living wage. And a pressing need is legislation which gives legal sanction to the living wage, which recognizes man's right to a living wage.

In bringing these desirable ends to a realization, the Christian sociologist has a full time task; he has no time to waste on systems which spring from principles other than those he accepts. Yet some still maintain that Catholics may well take an eclectic view of Communism, to utilize what is good in it. Such advocates are seeking a short route to social justice. While not seeking a United Front in name or in fact, any such attempt to bring Christianity and Communism to a common plane would amount to a united front in effect, and such a hybrid is bound to bring nothing but confusion, and further waste of time and energy.

Some even have talked of a possible synthesis of Thomism and Marxism, arguing that the concern of both Aquinas and Marx for social justice would yield much that would be useful today. Advocates of such a bizarre synthesis seem to ignore the first requisite for intelligent discussion, namely, an agreement on terms.

And the first term on which there must be agreement is the definition of man. Whoever would build a new social order must have a clear and unvariable conception of the nature of the creature they would work *for* and *with*. We trace the origin of man to God, and accept the immortality of his soul; Marx-

ists trace his origin to nature; and deny man any immortality. We hold that he has a spiritual as well as a corporeal nature; they deny his spiritual nature, and regard him only as a corporeal being. We believe his last end to be outside himself, in God; they believe his end to be in himself. We hold that man's life centers about God; they hold that man's life centers about himself.

We believe that man has a natural right to property, that is, sufficient goods to enable him to live a virtuous life in frugal comfort. They believe that man's right to property is acquired, hence can be taken away, and property held in common. Our concept of property provides liberty; theirs takes away liberty.

A Christian social order is designed for human nature, since its principles originate in the mind of God, who as the Creator, best knows the nature of his own creature. A Marxist social order has to be adjusted to human nature, because it issued from the mind of man, who never completely knows himself.

A fusion of Christianity and Marxism would make of Christianity what it is not, a political and economic system, and make of Communism less than it claims to be—a complete way of life.

Christianity would remove the obstacles to social justice by an insistence upon the natural behavior of man for a supernatural purpose: that requires the use of right reason, subject to the law of charity. Right reason advises the co-operation of capital and labor. In the arbitration of differences between capital and labor, charity would temper justice—true peace would be obtained, not an armed truce, and a continuation of class war. In a reasonable social order strikes would amount to no more than the publication of a grievance, and would never be permitted to enter the stage of class war.

Such arbitration need not wait on the construction of a whole new order of things; it can be established immediately, in every community. Nor does it need legislation to supply penalties. An educated public will supply its own. The public can be made to understand that it cannot expect honestly made goods at just prices unless worker and proprietor co-operate. A proprietor or a worker who denies the rights of the other, can have no respect for the rights of the consumer. One way to industrial peace is through ready arbitration boards: the *opportunity* to make peace must be provided. Such arbitration would save the consumer from joining in class war.

Arbitration does not fit into the Marxist schedule of general strikes and world revolution, but arbitration, since its end is justice, is complementary to the Christian program.

It is possible, of course, that Christianity and Communism might combine coincidentally in combating a common enemy, as Christians and Marx-

ists sympathized in their effort to keep the Saar Basin out of Hitler's Germany, but such co-operation is in the nature of extraterritorial work. That the two could co-operate consistently is inconsistent with the principles of each.

Aside from the would-be synthesists, there are some who would seek to win the sympathy of the masses by a form of apologetic which points out the similarities in the social theory of Christianity and revised Bolshevism. Yet Pius XI warns, "If, like all errors, Socialism contains a certain element of truth, it is nevertheless founded upon a doctrine of human society peculiarly its own, which is opposed to true Christianity."

The apologetists to the masses are but recalling the adolescent age of Catholicism in America, when Catholics thought they had to prove that their faith and reason were not incompatible. That was the day of the ready answer, when apologetics consisted, for a large part, in reeling off the names of Catholic scientists, explorers, artists and so on—to prove that the scales of wisdom and accomplishment were in our favor. Now some would have it that the point to be proven is that Catholicism and Justice are not incompatible; we proved once that we were "smart, too"; now we are asked to prove that we are "just too."

Only deeds will prove our justice. There is no time for weasel explanations that Christianity is *just as good* as Communism, as much as to say, if Aquinas had had the foresight (sic) he would have written a Catholic Handbook of Revolution.

The intent of this type of apologetic is to hold the masses out of Communism until something can be done for them. Something must be done, surely, but we see no reason why action designed to restore justice should be accompanied by ardent protests of our good purpose. *If what we do for society in the way of social planning is good and lasting, that action will speak for itself.*

The task of the Christian sociologist is essentially a creative one. Going to a parvenu social system that won't stand still long enough to be measured is foolishness. Nor is the other extreme, of clubbing Party Members and tossing them in jail of any use; *it is the idea which must be combated, not the men.* The individuals can be saved from their error; the idea cannot. The idea is wrong, and must be supplanted.

Catholicism has a much better, a more complete, a more sensible social idea. It has a useful flexibility due to the universality of its nature, and because of that universality, it cannot be put down in terms of economic five year plans. But in its universality is its eminent practicability. It can be used by human nature anywhere, anytime, its application being varied to suit the circumstances, without a necessary violation of principle.

Pastoral Letter on Communism

By WILLIAM CARDINAL O'CONNELL, *Archbishop of Boston*

So timely and of such permanent value was this superb pastoral, read in all the churches of the Archdiocese of Boston on New Year's Day, 1936, that it has been deemed opportune to reprint it now for our readers.

THE advent of each succeeding New Year brings with it for every thoughtful man the obligation of examining the state of his relations to God, to his neighbor and to society, for the purpose of strengthening resolve for the future and repairing the errors and deficiencies of the past. If this be true of individuals in all stations, it is particularly incumbent on men of good will, and for nations, too, on this New Year's day, which dawns upon a world sorely afflicted by physical suffering, distracted by spiritual doubt, and bewildered by the uncertainty of conflicting counsel.

The beginning of wisdom, says Holy Writ in many places, is the fear of the Lord,—not the degrading and cringing servitude of bondmen toward their master, but the filial respect and ready obedience of a child for a revered father. When this standard of right living is repudiated and the beacon of religion quenched, chaos and disaster result on the ocean of life. In the absence of a controlling discipline superior to individual whim each wayfarer proceeds to become his own pilot and sets up his own rules and interpretations. That is why the modern world speaks fervently and often of changed values and new standards. What is meant is that the denial of divine law has generated a necessity for creating some norm,—or at least some intellectual justification,—for the prejudices and undisciplined passions that have been released. What was permanently revealed in the domain of faith and morals is glibly described as having been changed by evolution. What was difficult or irksome for human nature is disposed of by the easy epithets,—“outworn” and “outmoded.”

FORGET DIVINE DESCENT

The results of this modern tendency to cut loose from the anchorage of fundamental truth is now apparent. Fascinated by the lure of abundant temporalities, the sons of men forgot their divine descent to seek happiness in the material and perishable creations fabricated by their own hands. They lost the sense of proportion in an exaggerated worship of the senses and in the things that flatter the animal side of human nature. In consequence, the riches and luxury of the century that followed the Industrial Revolution well nigh suffocated the nobler strivings of the better man. The restraint of conscience once removed, mankind embarked on headlong ruin. Greed led the way. The concupiscence of the eye, the concupiscence of the flesh and the

pride of life displaced the chastening vision of immortality, the discipline of the body and that humility of spirit which is the first fruit of enlightenment and wisdom. With our own eyes we have witnessed during the past quarter of a century the appalling price the world has paid for this alleged emancipation of the mind. Devastating wars and revolutions were followed by economic exhaustion and political confusion, while in our own land a period of domestic license unparalleled in legal history raised us to humiliating preeminence in the records of criminality.

It would, however, be an error to conclude that riches and material prosperity are things evil in themselves, accursed of God and a bar to salvation. They are gifts of the Creator Who decreed that the earth and the fruits thereof should be placed at the disposal of man and fructify naturally in response to his labors, his diligence and ingenuity. Human strength and talents differ. In proportion as men's energy, initiative and opportunities vary both in degree and frequency, so wealth, following natural laws is diverse and unequal. But the obligation of right use remains equal and mandatory on all,—as the precepts of Christ, the teachings of Doctors of the Church, the Encyclicals of an unbroken line of Sovereign Pontiffs and reason itself all remind us.

PARABLE OF RICH MAN

In the course of a long life spent in different lands and in observation of men of wealth, I have known many who faithfully fulfilled these obligations of justice, of charity and social responsibility. But others there were, and still are, who worshipped self-interest and private gain in callous disregard of the public welfare. Forgetful of the stewardship that wealth and economic influence imply these are they against whom the prophet Isaias invoked the wrath of God:—

“Woe to you that join house to house
And lay field to field
Even to the end of the place.”¹

And Christ Himself, in the parable of a certain rich man, denounces the avaricious who selfishly accumulate more and more luxury for their sole and personal gratification:

“But God said to him: Thou fool, this night

¹ Isaias V; 8.

do I require thy soul of thee and whose shall those things be which thou hast provided?"²

Hence it is that Capital, in the belief of the Catholic Church expressed through its Pontiffs and representative theologians, is charged with the responsibility of remembering always that Labor is an indispensable partner in the joint activity of producing economic wealth. Money, whether metal or paper or credit, is in itself dead and barren matter; it grows and multiplies for its possessor only under the energizing touch of countless human beings whose toiling hands and brains unite in creating commodities and services capable of satisfying human needs. There exists a mutual dependency, therefore, between the capitalist and the laborer that renders the one helpless without the co-operation of the other. The fruits and achievements of this necessary fellowship carry in themselves something of the specific toil and contribution of each. One supplied the material, the other evoked the marketable form. Hence the profit that accrues should not be reserved exclusively to one of the partners but administered equitably among the co-creators. Continued unwillingness to acknowledge that common equity means continued encouragement to social discontent. Philanthropy is no substitute for equal justice nor does it assuage the resentment that smolders in the hearts of the aggrieved. When the suppressed combustion reaches flaming point, revolutionaries take charge and dictators arise.

PENALTY OF HEEDLESSNESS

Failure to heed the warnings of Leo XIII, voiced over forty years ago and renewed by Pius XI, has laid a heavy penalty on us all. Greed begat reckless exploitation of human personalities. Exploitation begat class consciousness. Class consciousness begat communism. Communism begat class hatred. Class hatred begat Bolshevism. Bolshevism sired the Soviet State and the Soviet State is the breeder of class warfare, world revolution and international atheism. Confronting this evil progeny in every tongue and every land, the Catholic Church invokes social justice, social charity and the saving lessons of the supernatural revelation which she has guarded intact across nineteen centuries. To a bewildered and exhausted world she again addresses on this New Year's day her ancient query in its modern form:—"To whom shall ye turn? To Christ or Lenin?" And she repeats anew the uncompromising answer of Simon Peter when asked if he, too, would leave the Master:—"Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."³

Here we have the true genealogy of a social menace that has grown universal and formidable.

² Saint Luke, XII, 18-20.

³ Saint John, Chapter VI, v. 69.

Under cover of sponsoring economic reform and beneath the pretext of liberalism, a new Paganism has developed whose advocates have assembled an arsenal of denials that are aimed at the very foundations of Christianity and Democracy. Communism, insofar as it denies the existence of God and proposes the abolition of all religion, is a heresy with which no Catholic can compromise while remaining a member of the Church of Christ. Insofar as it denies the right of private property legitimately acquired it is a repudiation of the natural law, and has been condemned as such by Leo XIII and Pius XI. By its openly avowed intention to submerge the individual in the drab uniformity of collectivism and reduce man's personality to the degradation of serving the state as a mere economic instrument for the production of material goods, it is a return to the slavery of a paganism which Christ suffered and died to reform. By its contempt of individual rights and its claim to rule mind, body and soul under brutal decrees promulgated from star chambers by an entrenched and intolerant minority it is the complete antithesis of that fundamental freedom of conscience in defense of which religion has bled for centuries. That conflict began with the martyrs in the Coliseum, was continued across the years, and is being waged to this very hour by heroic Confessors of the Faith in those freezing prison camps on Solovetsky Island.

ENEMY OF DEMOCRACY

By its cynical hostility,—more than once publicly demonstrated,—to the political institutions and the organic law of our beloved country, Communism is an enemy of the Democracy in which the Catholic Church, under the providence of God, has lived, developed and prospered in this land to an extent rarely equalled elsewhere. Partisan of no political party and advocate of no specific theory of civil government, the Catholic Church can exist in a monarchy, a republic, an oligarchy or an empire, provided its inalienable rights are respected. Its mission lies within the territory of the soul and among the necessary implications attaching to the development, the education and salvation of man's immortal spirit. Since Communism is the only political organization which officially denies the soul and impedes its legitimate activities, there results a clear duty for Christians to exercise perpetual vigilance against those who plan, however remotely, to introduce such an odious tyranny into our beloved country. Our civil and religious liberties have been dearly bought. Hence both as Catholics and as citizens we owe it to religion and to our fathers whose blood and labors purchased them, never to falter in their defense. "Obsta principiis" is a maxim particularly applicable at the present time. Resist the beginnings of error and evil. Advocates of Communism and their allies always profit by eco-

conomic distress and periods of confusion to gain ground and favor for their ultimate atheism and crass materialism. Whenever, by subtle persuasiveness exercised in favor of alleged social reforms, false doctrines and malicious propaganda manage to acquire foothold and wide acceptance, the contagion is far more difficult to arrest.

CANNOT BE SHIRKED

These are foremost among the problems and duties confronting our Catholic people at the threshold of another year. Heavy and numerous as they are they cannot be shirked by individual Catholics, nor left exclusively to government or legislative bodies for solution. In the Christian dispensation men are redeemed soul by soul, not collectively. Salvation for the entire race might have been accomplished by a single decree of an omnipotent God. It was not so ordained, but offered by a Divine Personality made incarnate in human form and nailed to a cross. Peace on earth to men of good will, was the morning song of the New Testament; love, not compulsion, nor hatred, nor class warfare was the burden of the Savior's teachings from the Finding in the Temple through the Sermon on the Mount and down to the Last Supper with His own. Thirst for the souls of men and forgiveness was His final Testament from Calvary. The efficacy of that sacrificial death is left to the free acceptance of the individual soul. So it is with social betterment. It grows slowly and organically,—by persuasion and enlightenment. When uninformed by humility and understanding of human nature, sociology and economics abound in unrealities and dictatorial pronouncements. Well and wisely has it been said that a crop depends on soil as much as on seed. Let advocates of sudden and far-reaching social change remember that even the finest and most benevolent programs will be barren of result unless the ground be prepared intellectually and morally for their reception.

MUST LIVE FAITH

It may not be your destiny to stand like Ambrose and Athanasius before kings and monarchs of the

earth to fling the course of God against rampant nationalism, greedy imperialism or pagan morals. But it is your destiny to live your faith in the spot, however humble, where God has placed you. With eyes and hearts centered on the Tabernacles of the archdiocese, and fortified by the grace of sacramental union with God Himself, you may contribute, each in his own degree and station, to the restoration of that peace which the world can neither give nor take away. In the sublime language both of the fourth Gospel and the Epistle to the Romans, you have power to become sons of God.⁴ That adoptive sonship imposes the obligation of a divine affiliation which must be made manifest by deeds in the concrete. Christ not only taught; He lived and died in vindication of that teaching.

Against the money madness that has bewitched the minds and hearts of this generation let your steady Faith and daily practice be a reminder that the Book of Life is not a ledger. To the multitudinous reformers of all things human and divine let your common sense be, as it were, a balance wheel in the growing chaos of proposed panaceas; tell the dilettante and the dabler in social science that he will best begin his regeneration of human society with the smallest unit in it,—himself. Against the Communist on the street corner or village green preaching universal theft in the name of human liberty let your sense of fundamental justice and your sound Americanism be an impregnable bulwark. To the frenzied foreign agitator, drunk with the first draught of the free air of democracy, point out that the art of government is best studied from below and a man can measure his fitness to rule by his ability to obey.

May the grace and power and love of our heavenly Father be with you all, and enfold each and every one during the next twelve months and through all the years to come.

⁴ Saint John I, 12; Epistle to the Romans, VIII, 14, 16, 17.

Democracy's Answer to Communism

Extracts from an address to the graduates of 1936 of Georgetown University, June 7, 1936

EDMUND A. WALSH, S.J.

THE Communist complaint is based on the inequality and social injustice arising from a dangerous maldistribution of national wealth and essential buying power. The indictment runs that the control of America's economic life has been unduly monopolized by a small, privileged minority controlling the capital, the credit and the vital

industries of the whole country. As a result the present social order is being challenged on two counts: it has failed to provide sufficiency and security for the broad masses of the people.

The natural inequalities of birth, brains, ingenuity, initiative and opportunity have been cleverly and subtly minimized and misinterpreted by

the Communists and by demagogues both within and outside government. A multiplicity of panaceas have been promulgated ranging from legitimate banking reform to planned economy and fantastic share-the-wealth proposals. So insistent, so universal has this complaint become that it can no longer be ignored—nor should it—for it is the real, the most serious and the most actual social problem of the hour, constituting, I maintain, the third major crisis in the life of the American Democracy. The first crisis, which developed after our independence was achieved, was solved by reason, by astute compromise and courageous statesmanship in the Constitutional Convention of 1787. The second was terminated on the battlefields of a fratricidal civil war lasting from 1861 to 1865. How will the third be solved?

Already the lines are drawing up for the opening thunders of a titanic conflict similar to the Lincoln-Douglas debates in the era preceding the Civil War. The buttons will be off the foils and the points envenomed, too. As University graduates you probably will—and should—participate in the solution of a great national crisis the consequences of which may profoundly effect your own future, that of your children and your children's children. Be not misled by the passionate diatribes of the vulgar, by the facile fallacies of disingenuous partisans or by insidious invitations to class warfare. The issue has sunk deeper than party platforms and has affected the very foundation-stones whereon repose the complicated superstructure of representative government.

Every balanced and informed mind knows that the age-old conflict between freedom and responsibility at present trying the soul of Democracy derives from world conditions, from domestic excesses committed in the wake of the World War, and from a multiplicity of similar provocations. It antedates Franklin Roosevelt and a Democratic administration; neither was it caused by Herbert Hoover and a conspiracy of Republican rascals. That is an oversimplification of a very complex historical process resulting from the extraordinary evolution of capitalism in this country. Both political parties in the heyday of their exuberance were equally guilty of economic folly and unsocial proclivities. Both shared common human weaknesses as both are composed of men not archangels. Both worshipped the same false gods of material prosperity. Both crooked the facile hinges of the knees before the fascinations and extravaganzas of the time whether as elected Levites during their ordained term within the sanctuary of government or as repudiated prophets outside the temple gates, rending their garments beside the wailing wall. Both knew how to read ticker tape in 1929 and both are beginning cautiously to decipher it again. Neither were Galahads when it was popular or profitable to be Machiavellis.

It is the civic duty of educated gentlemen to remain above the Billingsgate of partisanry and grapple directly with the historic and moral causes that have brought Democracy in America to the sickness that sooner or later afflicts every form of popular government.

I propose two concrete measures in this final convocation of the class of 1936. Against the first charge of monopoly in control of the economic necessities of daily life, I advocate a greater physical participation of the people as a whole in the determination of their economic and industrial destiny. Let me be concrete and circumstantial. We have here in Washington, opposite Lafayette Square, the imposing headquarters of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, where trade and industry and commerce combine to safeguard and promote their respective interests. Further along, on Massachusetts Avenue, are found the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor, ever vigilant to protect the rights and interests of manual laborers. These twain rarely meet in conference except when a dispute is argued. Then, we have the National Grange, representing Agriculture; the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers; Associations of Miners, of Bankers, of Shipbuilders, of Pharmacists, of Doctors, Lawyers, Architects and Religious Organizations. Hundreds of such headquarters exist and function in Washington, each devoted to its own particular interest and group, but in the aggregate constituting an authentic cross-section of American life.

Has not the hour come for a true Economic Council, composed of representatives from all these occupations, sitting permanently in Washington, in the form of an un-official but still recognized instrumentality designed to legislate for the good of all the people, not for any section or specific industry? Without suggesting that it should displace or usurp the constitutional functions of Congress, it could undoubtedly achieve through voluntary cooperation much that Congress cannot or will not do. A Representative or a Senator represents a definite, territorial area, not a social constituency of the nation. His interests are linked to his district, which, if it be an industrial or a financial region of a Northern State, leaves him possessed of an academic interest only in the agriculture of the Middle West or the cotton crops of Louisiana. And vice-versa, a mining Senator from Nevada is rarely moved to eloquence by the plight of fisheries in Maine, or textile disasters in Massachusetts. In such a House of National Welfare no one group could hope to secure advantages for any special interest, for they would be obliged to submit their programs of production, prices and distribution to the impartial scrutiny of representatives from all classes in the community. And I would include representatives of the Arts and Sciences, of Education and Religion. It would be

an integrated representation of the integrated, organic thing that life is. It could command the best brains in every walk of life.

Such an autonomous council of Labor, Capital, Finance, Agriculture, Industry, the Liberal Arts and Consumers, legislating for and administering their respective groups (as the farm cooperatives do) would thus achieve by voluntary cooperation, what government has attempted to do—and failed. The constitutional powers of Congress would remain unchanged and unimpaired, recourse being had to compulsory or disciplinary legislation only when cooperation is manifestly insufficient. But should an Economic Council such as I have described, issue a program that was formulated in the full light of publicity and with sound argument behind it, I doubt if any single group could afford to be intransigent; it could not risk the charge of gross self-interest or opposition to the general welfare by any program of over-production, monopoly or exploitation. In any event, such an experiment has never yet been tried. Would it not be a safer way to plan National Economy than are those fantasies which Industry has been subjected to, drawn as they were, behind closed doors by theorists whose hands never felt a plough and whose figures never underwent the realistic scrutiny of a company's auditor? And better still, it would meet and answer the revolutionary radical who instigates revolt by flaming demonstrations that the destiny of the country is in the hands of selfish bankers and absentee landlords. Such an organized economic body would preserve the organic unity of society, be a powerful auxiliary to government and disarm the visionary and the Bolshevik. It would, in my judgment, approach nearer to true Democracy than any Congress or Parliament elected on party lines.

A neutral should preside, never a government official but a competent, strong-minded representative of the great consuming public enjoying the confidence of the various groups, but identified financially or officially with none. That reads like the definition of a disembodied spirit, an archangel in the flesh. But that is exactly the role that Washington played, when recalled from his retirement at Mount Vernon. Must we now admit that the ingenuity of the race has been exhausted; that we have lost the breed of able and noble minds? Has all our native hue of resolution been sickled o'er with the pale cast of sterile thought? Has indecision made cowards of us all, and robbed us of the faculty of action?

Against the second indictment—that capitalism has failed to provide sufficiency and security for its co-partner, Labor—I propose the issuance of "*Labor Shares*." Just as capital shares are issued providing dividends from profits to investors, so there can be contrived a similar certificate for the worker who contributes his bodily capital—the only capital he

has—to the joint enterprise. And that capital, his bodily energy, is constantly deteriorating; he receives no dividend on that investment, but only wages. And he who receives only a stipulated wage is forever haunted by twin phantoms—the fear of unemployment and a lack of security in old age and sickness.

The validity of "Labor Shares" is based on the contention that there is a difference between wages and dividends. The conception of capital should be extended to include that contribution of Labor which is not compensated by wages. Wages are recompense for definite physical exertion measured in clock hours; they do not admit the laborer to a proportionate participation in the profits that result after the costs of production, of maintenance, of overhead and taxation have been met. The new wealth that is created by capital and labor jointly has a social as well as an individual aspect and best serves its ethical obligations by being more equitably distributed among its two co-creators. Corporations and employers adopting this constructive policy should be favored by reduced taxation. And it is clearly understood that Labor Shares refer only to profits, not to management. They should not be negotiable or saleable; they expire with the service of the holder, since they are tokens of a personal contribution and do not constitute part of a decedent's estate.

No thoughtful man can avoid the plain truth that we stand at the crossroads of a great decision. We have come to the end of an epoch. For over six years our people have been in the throes of a nationwide catastrophe that would have shattered the very foundation of any government whose electorate is not so broadly tolerant, so casual, and so resilient as our own. Similar distress in other hands, where passions are hotter and temperaments more volcanic, has led to violence, bloodshed, and revolution. Such eruptions are comfortably regarded as alien to the American tradition. But there is a breaking point even for tempered steel; there is a melting point for human patience, and a boiling point somewhere in the coolest veins.

The world now realizes as never before that labor is an indispensable partner with capital in the economic processes that create national wealth. Capital and labor are, as it were, journeymen of Nature, standing shoulder to shoulder at the same glowing forge of Life, whether clad in overalls or in dinner jackets. They both take a wage for their respective tasks, and both are necessary co-agents of production. Either one without the other is powerless.

If Capital has not Labor, it must perish or else re-establish slavery. If Labor has not Capital it must revert to primitive barter or else return to the reign of force and the ethics of the jungle.

Capital with marvelous efficiency solved the secret of production. It must now solve the remaining problem of the distribution both of commodities and

profits. For wealth is power, and power in a particularly subtle form, which, as experience shows, can profoundly affect the destiny of society as a whole. That public authority, in consequence, has certain moral and civil obligations with respect to the use of that power is an inescapable truth that must be faced squarely and honestly. If men shirk the clear social responsibility attaching to property, one of two things will happen. Either Government will seek new ways and means to conscript their wealth under a general welfare mandate, or mobs will rudely confiscate it. Both have happened elsewhere, even within our own memory. We are in a state of siege and the ration must be shared. Everything that the share-the-wealth advocates endeavor to achieve, everything the Communist hopes to obtain by force and violence, everything that unemployment legislation aims at, everything that social security laws contemplate—all these compulsory measures are based ultimately on the simple mathematical truth that the whole is greater than any one of its parts, and on the moral commandment that the permanent good of the whole community cannot be retarded by the special or transitory interest of any unit in it.

But that, at bottom, is distinctly a moral issue—and moral issues are not solved by legal enactments or economic planning unless these external controls are fortified by a changed attitude of the public conscience. Social betterment is a long laborious ascent to higher altitudes in the scale of values and the heart of humanity must first be prepared for the change. It is an organic growth which stems from the roots of character and rises steadily through channels of education until it flowers triumphantly into spiritual acceptance of human solidarity. Education plants, religion waters, government inspects, regulates and enforces—God alone gives the increase. Social legislation has rarely succeeded when imposed as a penalty by fiat of government unaided by these other intangibles. In the divine economy men are saved individually, not collectively. God is patient and even Omnipotence does not destroy the free will of His handiwork, man. Only they will attempt it in social relationships and governmental who are arrogantly ignorant of human psychology, or else place too high an estimate on their own presumptive infallibility.

Men are groping towards a realization of economic stability and social justice as they have groped upwards towards every higher plane of progress. The best and most practical contribution will come from enlightened leaders who are alive to the responsibility of their position. A wrong, a hasty or a dictatorial solution might easily plunge industry and education, even religion and a Democracy into the virtual slavery that oppresses them elsewhere. We have no divine guarantee of perpetual immunity against fundamental shock, no mat-

ter what the Bourbons of complacency may opine. An empty stomach has no ears. We have bought immunity thus far—and postponed the reckoning. The purchase price is already over 30 billion dollars and is mounting with every session of the Congress. It is simply a race between the Treasury and disaster. Compulsion has failed as it ever will and must—unless the free will of man cooperates. Freedom still remains but the sands are running low in the hour glass of decision.

Every wind from overseas brings ominous tidings of a gathering whirlwind. Dictators multiply and popular government declines. England is girding herself for some mysterious emergency by enormously increasing her armament. France is waiting in tense expectation as Radical Socialism takes charge of her destiny for the first time since the French Revolution; Belgium has experienced the same swing to the left; Spain advances farther and farther along the path of revolutionary violence as a new invasion of China is reported from the Far East. The League of Nations sits impotent in an empty palace armed with a broken sword. The hope that springs eternal in the breast of man has sunk to melancholy foreboding and fear prevails.

Can we assure ourselves continued exemption from the dread contagion of universal discontent? We learned the opposite by the bitter experiences of 1917 and 1929. But we can strengthen our powers of resistance by hastening to solve the domestic impasse. That will be Democracy's finest answer to Communism.

The day on which the occupational form of representation is definitely and successfully established in the United States, will rank with July 4, 1776. The day on which "*Labor Shares*" become universally and voluntarily adopted in the constitution of American industry will mark the end of Communism's advance. I know that dividends on any shares are few and far between at this particular time. No matter. The psychological reaction to such a Declaration of Dependence would probably equal in its effects the electrifying influence of that other Declaration on the political thought of the 18th century. For then the unfinished work of Washington and Jefferson and the other founding fathers would be completed. America's second contribution to Democracy and to liberty under law will deserve to be engrossed for all time high up on the record of human freedom. For then social stability and political equality would reign unassailable from equal thrones. Then individualism, which created American civilization, would be reconciled with the broad civic responsibility which always attaches to power and influence. Then and then only will Democracy have achieved the maturity of full stature, immune from the cycle of degeneration prophesied by Aristotle for popular rule and shrewdly capitalized today by the enemies of Democracy and Chris-

tianity as inherent to our present industrial system; for then a well-rounded economic philosophy will match the political wisdom manifested in the Constitution of 1789. Democracy will then become not only a form of government but a way of life and a habit of civic thought, elevated by the Christian concept of human solidarity. The generation that achieves it will immortalize itself and prove, too, that our recuperative and inventive powers are still sound. If you will meet this third crisis of Ameri-

can history as our forefathers met the first and second, you will end forever on this continent the menace of revolutionary communism, together with its accompaniments of crass tyranny, obscene atheism and the degradation of human personality. You will draw, as it were, a meridian on the map of world crises for future historians and geographers of the spirit to point at and say: "*Here is the line where the universal enemy was stopped.*"

Next Month

How Communism Trains Its Agitators

A Survey of Communist Schools in U. S. A.

Communism in Soviet Russia

An Extraordinary Report from Moscow Showing Communism in Operation. Valuable as an Object Lesson Against Communist Claims in U. S. A.

Communism in Canada—France—Spain—Portugal—The Philippines

The Great Fallacy

An Answer to Those Who Say That Communism Is a Negligible Influence in America

A Summary of Papal Pronouncements on Communism

From 1924 to 1936



Part IV

Documentations



Current history for October, 1936, contains a biographical sketch of Earl Browder, Secretary of the Communist Party in the U. S. A., and its candidate for President. An interview follows, from which the following excerpts are taken:

"After this election, both the major parties will be a matter of history. A Farmer-Labor party will head a coalition of radicals and liberals resembling France's People's Front. The backbone of this new political alignment will be the progressive trade unions." "The C. I. O. is the most promising development in the history of American labor. We give our uttermost support to its aims."

At present there are 51,000 active party members in the U. S. A. Of these 46 percent are native born. About 800,000 belong to "front" organizations more or less firmly allied to Communism.

"Like Lenin, we will fight to free our land from the blood-sucking reactionaries, and bring it into an international brotherhood of a World Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

The Chicago "Defender," an influential Negro paper, writes of the scene at the execution of Rainey Bethea at Owensboro, Kentucky: "The Soviets would not do this. They are too busy seeking to progress in science, achievement, and harmonious intercourse with their neighbors to lynch a citizen in a public square to which the public is invited." [What about the frequent trials and executions in Soviet Russia for alleged opposition?] Editor.

"Western Worker"—"Build a mass Communist Party." "The building of a mass Farmer-Labor Party stands out with particular sharpness in California, where masses of the people are moving leftward."

Dimitroff, Secretary of the Komintern, writes: "Real revolutions, however harsh they may be, do not need justification, because they lift the people who bring them about to a higher stage of human civilization."

"Our Sunday Visitor," of Huntington, Indiana, had a neat comment relative to the above, in its issue of October 18, 1936:

"IN THE UNITED STATES AND RUSSIA"

"In the United States, Mr. Earl Browder has announced that he will file suit and attempt to collect \$50,000 from the city of Terre Haute, Indiana, where he was recently arrested and jailed when he visited that city to speak in behalf of Communism.

"In Russia, Karl Radek, a well-known Bolshevik newspaper man and commentator for the official newspaper *Izestia*, was arrested and charged with sharing in a plot to overthrow the Stalin Government, by force if necessary. For participation in the same plot sixteen Russians, including several prominent men in the Communist

Party, have already been executed. Accusation in Russia is usually equivalent to conviction, and conviction means execution; so it is likely that Mr. Radek will—perhaps has by this time—met with the same punishment accorded alleged fellow conspirators.

"Mr. Browder wishes to cause the overthrow of our Government, by force if necessary. The ultimate and final objective of Mr. Browder and his fellow Communists is, by means of world revolution, to establish the dictatorship of the so-called Proletariat into one world union of Soviet Socialist republics with the capital at Moscow.

"Mr. Browder stands for Communism—stands for everything that Communism stands for. Therefore, he must look upon the Soviet Government as his ideal Government. If he believes in the practice of what he preaches—which evidently he doesn't—he should not sue anybody for his arrest in Terre Haute. On the contrary, he should rejoice that one outstanding principle of Russian Communism has been applied in the United States—and to him."

"Soviet Communism, New Civilization?" By Sidney and Beatrice Webb. Scribner's I, II (1936).

These two volumes contain an immense amount of information, and deserve the adjective "monumental." But Lord and Lady Passmore are distinctly pro-Soviet in sympathy. They deny that religion is "persecuted" in Russia, though admitting that seminaries are closed, that religious education is illegal, that anti-religious propaganda is fostered by the U. S. S. R., and that religious books are banned! These volumes are to be used with extreme caution and reservation. The authors are well-known Socialists, friends of the Soviet Union.

"I Search for Truth in Russia," by Sir Walter Citrine, London, Routledge, 1936.

Sir Walter Citrine, President of the International Federation of Trade Unions, and General Secretary of the T. U. C., visited Russia in 1935. He is a Socialist, and lauds some of the economic accomplishments of Soviet Russia. Yet he writes, "*It is not the economic methods which repel me. But I had the uneasy feeling that the workers are simply cogs in the Soviet machinery. That there is coercion, I have not the slightest doubt. The worker is nominally the master. In practice he does exactly what he is told to do. He cannot fight the State or the Communist nucleus. Right from infancy his thinking is controlled. This is still done to an extent which capitalism has never succeeded in doing.*"

The Month. February, 1936.

Fr. Joseph Ledit, S.J., on "The Dupes of the Soviet."

"In December, 1935, the 'Friends of Soviet Russia' met in convention at London. An appeal, signed by 151 persons, most of them in Who's Who, was issued. The signers included authors, artists, actors, professional men, and two ministers of religion. The 750 delegates to the

convention claimed to represent 1,500,000 persons. These 'friends of the Soviet' deny tales of religious persecution in Russia, of slave camps and oppression.

"Yet Stalin has signed the anti-religious Five-Year Plan, according to which atheistic cells must work with greater energy. Only forty churches are open in Moscow, for a population of 3,700,000. Church members are harried by the OGPU, and are excluded from the collective farms, while Church property is crushed by taxation. Atheism is an essential part of Communism."

Current History. April, 1936.

Contains an article, "*Forced Labor on the Trans-Siberian Railway*," giving a vivid picture of the brutal exploitation of labor in Soviet enterprises.

Etudes. February 20, 1936.

H. Picart. "*Communistes de France et de Moscou*."

Deals with the "Common Front" in France. Dimitrov, the Bulgarian President of the Comintern, thus defines the "Common Front": "It aims to unite small proprietors, peasants, functionaries, and even bourgeois." "*It capitalizes all grievances*."

Studies. December, 1935.

J. M. Sullivan. "*New Classes in a Classless State*."

"The Soviet State is not capitalistic, but it is bureaucratic." "There is a wide difference in salaries." "Factories are under the control of one manager." "Stalin himself now flouts equality in industry. He has said: 'Superior skill demands superior rewards'."

Mr. William Henry Chamberlin, author of the "*History of the Russian Revolution*" and "*Russia's Iron Age*," contributes to the September issue of the *American Mercury* a most informative article entitled "Paradise Imagined—The Truth About Soviet Russia." Some excerpts from this article follow:—

"The typical admirer of the Soviet Union . . . envisages a land where the living conditions of the masses have improved immeasurably since prewar days, a land where the panacea of State planning has solved all perplexing problems, where there is no unemployment, and where art and science have unlimited creative possibilities." "The first jarring note in the conception of a collectivist paradise . . . is the extraordinary severity of the laws which the Soviet Government has found it necessary to enact." "Consider, for example, the law of August 7, 1932. Under this law any theft of State or collective farm property is punishable with death." "Another Draconian Law (June, 1934) makes it a capital offense for any Soviet citizen to cross the frontier without permission." Mr. Chamberlin notes "the treatment of wives and children as hostages for the good behaviour of husbands and fathers. In Russia "the shooting of a few officials and workers is the familiar sequel to a railroad wreck."

"All the inmates of Hitler's and Mussolini's concentration camps would have scarcely supplied one working shift when the Baltic-White Sea Canal was being driven through to completion by forced labor under the OGPU." "The same chain-gang methods are being used in recruiting labor for a larger canal, between the Volga and Moscow rivers, for new railways in the Far East, and for mining and timbercutting in the remote North." "The majority of the unfortunate people are not criminals, but are classified as 'kulaks' or 'counter-revolutionaries'."

"A recent Soviet statistical estimate gives the monthly average wage of all workers for 1935 as 190 rubles." "In 1933 the United States' Bureau of Labor Statistics computed the wages of American workers at an average of \$70 per month." "In other words, the American worker's

wage, in terms of real values, was from five to twelve times higher than the Soviet worker's."

In Russia "a month's salary is a customary price for a pair of good shoes, or boots." "The terrific overcrowding in Soviet cities is proverbial." "Apartment houses are erected hastily, and are shoddy in appearance." "Still worse is the housing of unskilled laborers." "They live in barracks, overcrowded and verminous."

"Running water, vacuum cleaners, refrigerators, are conspicuously scarce in Moscow."

Sabotage against "Stakhanovism," i.e., "speeding up," is frequent. Pravda, of November 3, 1935, reports that in Tambov four men "arriving at work found their tools stolen."

"Socialised medicine" is often a failure in Russia. Mr. Edward Wilson, sympathetic with the Soviet, spent six weeks in an Odessa hospital. "The bathrooms were garbage piles. The hospital was infested with flies."

"The abolition of prostitution has been a strong talking point with Soviet sympathizers." "But amateurs killed the profession. Foreign residents have never experienced any lack of Soviet women willing to be kept." "As for the emancipation of women, the Revolution has given them equality with men in engineering and aviation—and also in digging subways and cutting timber."

"The abolition of unemployment" is largely mythical. "Millions of people have been sent to forced labor." "Among the peasants, millions perished of hunger during the great famine of 1932-1933, which resulted from ruthless requisitions and colossal blunders." "Since 1933 there has been an unmistakable improvement in Soviet agricultural conditions. The peasants have resigned themselves to State landlordism just as their ancestors resigned themselves to serfdom. Yet recovery from the famine level of 1933 can proceed a considerable distance without approaching prosperity, as the term is understood in America and Western Europe." "The Soviet village today presents a picture of drab and dingy poverty." "The economic position of the entire Russian peasantry is that of sharecroppers, with an all-powerful State as landlord."

Professional Classes in the Soviet: "The Soviet Government desires to enlist journalists and writers as propagandists, and wishes trained engineers to operate its industrial plants. So engineers and authors and journalists are well paid in Soviet standards. Physicians and teachers are underpaid. Teachers do not always receive their scanty pay on time."

Censorship: "There is no country in the world which has such a high percentage of its intellectuals in prison or in exile."

Lawyers are shackled in Russia. "It is impossible to point out a case in recent years where a lawyer has offered a vigorous defense of a political prisoner."

"The vast majority of prewar historians were driven from their chairs because they were considered incapable of giving the Marxian interpretation of history." Even the Communist historian "must tread the narrow path of orthodoxy." "Every printed word in the Soviet Union is subjected to preliminary censorship."

Religious Persecution: "No contact is possible between journalists and representatives of the Orthodox Church." The Soviet "inculcates Atheism in the schools." "There is a complete ban on the printing of religious books and their importation from abroad." "Religious propaganda is now regarded as criminal." "Every kind of social and political disability is imposed on believers."

"What is surprising is not the terrorist character of the Soviet State, but the obstinate refusal of foreign radicals to recognize this character."

Catholics Form Group to Combat Communism

By the Associated Press.

VATICAN CITY, Oct. 17.—A world-wide organization, to include both Catholics and Protestants, is being formed by the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs for the fight on communism, prelates disclosed tonight.

The organization, the prelates said, will be based on the "Pro Deo" (for God) committees now existing in several European countries. They are composed of both Catholics and Protestants, disseminate anti-Communist propaganda and keep their respective countries informed of Bolshevik activities.

The Vatican now sees the desirability of extending the "Pro Deo" committees to all nations, the prelates explained, giving them a central coordinating organization.

Mormon Church Issues Admonition Against Communism.—The First Presidency of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (The Mormon Church), Salt Lake City, Utah, issued an admonition to its church membership on July 3, 1936, "completely to eschew Communism." Stating that the Church has no intention of trying to interfere with the fullest and freest exercise of the political franchise of its members, and that "it is charged by universal report, which is not successfully contradicted or disproved, that communism undertakes to control, if not indeed to prescribe, the religious life of the people living within its jurisdiction, that it even reaches its hand into the sanctity of the family circle itself, disrupting the normal relationship of parent and child, all in a manner unknown and unsanctioned under the constitutional guarantee under which we in America live"; it says further, in part:

"But Communism is not a political party nor a political plan under the constitution; it is a system of government that is the opposite of our constitutional government, and it would be necessary to destroy our government before communism could be set up in the United States.

"Since communism, established, would destroy our American constitutional government, to support Communism is treasonable to our free institutions, and no patriotic American citizen may become either a Communist or supporter of communism."

Loyal Order of Moose Adopts Resolution.—At the Supreme Convention of the Loyal Order of Moose, held in Chicago, Illinois, during July, a resolution was adopted reaffirming its stand for the American system of government and its opposition to any and every attempt to change the form of government by force; and support for any rational effort to suppress communism, or other movement which would deprive citizens of the United States of their liberty. The full text of the resolution said:

"Resolved, That this Supreme Convention does hereby again affirm that the Loyal Order of Moose does now, as it has from its inception, stand for the system of government established by the founders of our Republic, and it does now, as it has always done, oppose any and every attempt to change that form of government, by force or otherwise, except as provided by law, and it does now declare that it is in favor of and will support any rational effort to suppress communism and every other movement which would deprive our members as citizens of the United States of any liberty which our present system of government confers upon them."

The address of the Loyal Order of Moose is Mooseheart, Illinois.

Disabled American Veterans.—A national legislative program, adopted at the annual convention of the Disabled American Veterans at Milwaukee, Wis., on July 25, 1936, contained one section which is quoted as follows:

"That the Disabled American Veterans, independently and in cooperation with other patriotic organizations, aggressively combat all forms of subversive movements calculated to destroy the American form of government."

The address of the Disabled American Veterans of the World War is the Munsey Building, Washington, D. C.

Kiwanis International to Combat Communism.—At its 20th annual convention held in Washington, D. C., in June, 1936, Kiwanis International called upon its membership of 90,000 "to combat the vicious propaganda that is being advanced throughout the land at this time in behalf of foreign ideas and communistic and dictatorial government."

The headquarters of Kiwanis International are at 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Student Group to Combat Subversive Movements.—A student group known as the Student Americans, Inc., has been organized to promote patriotic objectives and "to investigate and actively combat all un-American organizations and their propaganda * * *." The National President of the Student Americans is Mr. Arden S. Turner, P. O. Box 456, Columbus, Ohio.

Chapters are in existence or are projected at such institutions as Ohio University, the parent chapter; Indiana University, West Virginia University, Pennsylvania State College, the University of Kentucky, etc.

The American and Soviet Systems Contrasted.—In a 62-page book entitled "Give Me Liberty," Rose Wilder Lane presents a striking contrast between the American economic and political order and the controlled and collectivist systems of Europe, particularly Russia.

In 1920 Mrs. Lane was a communist, regarding communism as an "extension of democracy" that would lead to greater freedom for mankind. She visited Russia as a communist to study the actual working out of the communist "economic revolution." She came to the conclusion that every advance toward actual liberty which was gained by the religious revolution (of the Reformation) and by the political revolution (against the power of kings) was lost by the economic revolution.

The centralized economic control set up in the Soviet Union, had to be autocratic, quite irrespective of whether or not its aims were for social good. She says:

"For 19 years the men who rule that country have toiled prodigiously to create precisely the society we dreamed of; a society in which insecurity, poverty, economic inequality, shall be impossible.

"To that end they have destroyed personal freedom, freedom of movement, of choice of work, freedom of self-expression in ways of life, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience.

"Given their aim, I do not see how they could have done otherwise. Producing food from the earth and the sea, making goods from assembled raw materials, and their storing, exchanging, transporting, distributing and consuming by vast multitudes of human beings, are activities so intricately interrelated and interdependent that efficient control of any part of them demands control of the whole. No man can so control multitudes of men without compulsion, and that compulsion must increase."

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"I came out of the Soviet Union no longer a communist, because I believed in personal freedom. Like all Americans, I took for granted the individual

liberty to which I had been born. It seemed as necessary and as inevitable as the air I breathed; it seemed the natural element in which human beings lived."

After her European experiences, Mrs. Lane contrasted to European control the individual liberty in America. She says:

"Americans have more freedom of thought, of choice, and of movement than other peoples have ever had. We inherited no limitations of caste to restrict our range of desires and of ambition to the class in which we were born."

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"And it is the most infinite relief to be an American returning after long living abroad, to be able to move from hotel to hotel, from city to city, to be able to rush into a store and buy a spool of thread, to decide at half past three to take a four o'clock train, to buy an automobile if one has the money or the credit and drive it wherever one likes, all without making any reports whatever to the government."

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Emphasizing the effectiveness of individualism rather than collectivism in distributing wealth, she says:

"Logically, unrestrained selfishness should build up vast wealth for a few, and submerge the multitudes into more miserable poverty. The logical Germanic mind of Marx saw that. He saw and could statistically count a certain amount of wealth, tangible, solid as an apple. It followed naturally that the more of it was seized by the upper class, the less would be left for the lower classes. The rich would grow richer and the poor, poorer."

"Actually, in this country the opposite occurred. In enjoyment of wealth there is less disparity now, today, between the richest American and the average American workingman than there was between Jefferson at Monticello and the average far western settler in Kentucky."

"It appears that individualism tends to a leveling of wealth, to destroying economic inequality. Marx, the European, had no conception of the enormous creative energies released when multitudes of men, for the first time freed from economic control, set out each in his own way to get for himself the greatest possible amount of wealth. Certainly this brief experiment in individualism has not only created great wealth and an unimaginable multiplication of forms of wealth in goods and services, but it has also distributed these forms of wealth to an unprecedented and elsewhere unequalled degree. We express this by saying that America has the highest standard of living in the world."

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In the twelfth chapter of her book, Mrs. Lane presents a striking, concise review of the great advances made in the United States, in a quarter century, bringing to the majority of American citizens education, freedom of press, household conveniences, and other facilities, rare at the beginning of the century and even now beyond the reach of the majority of citizens in foreign countries.

"Give Me Liberty" is published by Longmans, Green and Co., 114 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., at a price of 50 cents a copy.

"The 'New' Communism."—In the June, 1936, issue of "The Kiwanis Magazine," Robert W. Jones, Professor of Journalism at the University of Washington, and member of the University Kiwanis Club at Seattle, states in an article entitled "The 'New' Communism" that the

"ideas involved in communism are as old as the race. In fact, communism is not an advance but a retrogression." Professor Jones outlines the communist characteristics of the old Spartan state, with its divisions of lands, its prohibition of individualism, and its debasement of currency. "The Kiwanis Magazine" is published at 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Communist Influence on Youth Movements.—The Better America Federation, Room 504, 356 South Broadway, Los Angeles, Calif., has distributed a report "Communist-Controlled Youth Movement and Infiltration Into Youth Groups and Organizations," compiled by Luke Lane of the Intelligence Bureau of the Los Angeles Police Department.

There is special discussion of communist control of the American Youth Congress in New York in 1934, and of the activities of the Young Communist League and the Young Pioneer movement. Copies of the report are available from the Better America Federation at 15 cents a copy.

Need for Solidarity in Combating Communism.—Under the title, "Californians—Wake Up!" Mr. Roy M. Pike, manager of one of the largest diversified ranches in California, in the January, 1936, issue of "The California Journal of Development" states that the "single virtue" of the communist is "solidarity," and that a united front by business men is an urgent necessity in meeting the present-day problem presented by these movements. He lists a group of publications relative to communistic activities in the United States, communistic activities in California and San Francisco, and regarding conditions in contemporary Russia.

"The California Journal of Development" is distributed by the Industrial Association of California, Alexander Building, San Francisco, Calif.

A Short Exposition of Communist Activity.—A 12-page booklet entitled "Seeing Red—The Story of Communism" has been published and distributed by the Associated Farmers of California, Inc., 1302 Hobart Building, San Francisco, Calif. It defines the objectives of communism, gives a brief history of it, describes its organization, and deals particularly with activities in the United States, particularly in California.

American Mercury, August, 1936, Herbert Wilton Stanley, in an article entitled "Red Pacifism" says: "One of the most singular spectacles in current American affairs is the emergence of the war-loving communist clique as a purposeful and directing force in the pacifist movement for world peace." He states that while thousands of sincere American citizens work diligently for a genuine pacifist cause, the militant communists labor diligently beside them toward an entirely different goal which is the exploitation of the world peace movement as another recruiting agency for international communism.

The article discusses the intent and purpose of the Russian foreign peace policy; the Soviet government's policy in the League of Nations; the program and activities of many pacifist and peace organizations in the United States, some of which are credited with communist connections and influence, and others credited with being entirely free of radical influence. In concluding the article the writer says: "From the standpoint of real world peace, the interpenetration of the reds in the pacifist movement is little short of disastrous. The Marxists seek not peace but class war. * * * Pacifism will become merely another party line for the resourceful schemers who have determined that American democratic government must perish."